

JPRS-UPA-89-019  
24 MARCH 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-019

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24 MARCH 1989

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**Komsomol CC Draft Platform for USSR People's  
Deputies Elections Published**

18000538 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 2

[Draft Platform by the All-Union Komsomol Central  
Committee on the election of USSR people's deputies:  
"With What Will We Go to the Polls?"]

[Text] What political platform will the All-Union Lenin-  
ist Communist Youth League bring to the elections of  
USSR people's deputies?

What changes in society should we be striving for, so that  
the process of restructuring may be irreversible, and so  
that new opportunities for self-expression may be  
opened up for young people? What does youth and the  
Komsomol have to give to the restructuring process?

It is necessary for us to search for answers to these and  
many other questions, and to act together. There is no  
way to manage without doing so; for the Komsomol has  
received the right to elect its own representatives as  
USSR people's deputies directly for the first time. Their  
work in the highest organ of state power can be effective  
only if the deputies are able to rely on a clear and precise  
political platform of the All-Union Komsomol, reflecting  
the fundamental vital interests of its members and all  
young people. Only then will all the people's deputies  
understand and support them.

The All-Union Komsomol political platform must not  
limit itself to representing the interests of youth alone. If  
we wish to represent the people in the highest organs of  
state power, we should work out positions of our own  
with respect to all policy issues of the Soviet state; we  
should orient ourselves to interests nationwide, and to  
the consolidation of efforts by state and public organi-  
zations in the work of restructuring society.

We call upon young people and members of the All-  
Union Komsomol to support the CPSU election plat-  
form, reaffirming the course for the achievement of  
restructuring and democratization.

We support the process for attaining genuine power for  
the people. It is the soviets, representing the interests of  
all sections of the people, of all groups and nationalities,  
that are capable of achieving a just resolution of the  
urgent problems, including those encountered by young  
people.

We stand for dynamically evolving, humanitarian social-  
ism, in which all social institutions are geared to coming  
to terms with the specific problems and needs of man-  
kind.

We are aware that the success of restructuring, today and  
especially tomorrow, will depend to a decisive degree on  
the contribution of young people, on the organizational  
role of the Komsomol, on the aspirations of Komsomol

members and young people to struggle on behalf of  
restructuring, and on their knowledge of how to defend  
their ideals. The authority of the All-Union Komsomol  
as a social and political organization will be judged by  
the real changes it brings to the daily life of the country.  
The relations between the Komsomol and society must  
be built on the principle that trust is to be commensurate  
with performance.

We shall strive to make the Komsomol a spokesman of  
more daring and constructive ideas and actions for the  
improvement of our socialist society, to take an indepen-  
dent stand in all areas of political life, and to exercise the  
opportunity to participate not only in working out and  
carrying out decisions and programs, but also in uphold-  
ing them within the framework of the USSR Constitu-  
tion and Soviet laws. The Komsomol, as a social and  
political organization, should strive to give expression to  
the diverse interests of youth, but not to monopolize this  
right. We advocate the consolidation of official and  
non-official movements, Komsomol members and non-  
members, and equal cooperation between the various  
youth associations that speak out in support of party  
policy and the renewal of socialism.

### 1. State Youth Policy

The All-Union Komsomol, functioning within the high-  
est organ of state power, and motivated by the goals of  
socialism and restructuring, will endeavor to work out  
and implement a strong, integrated state policy for  
youth, and one that will create conditions that will  
permit the generation that is coming of age to gain  
independence as soon as possible, and to reveal its  
capabilities and fulfill its life objectives to a maximum  
degree, so that it will be ready to take upon itself  
responsibility for the fate of the country. The Komsomol  
will strive to make sure that this policy has organiza-  
tional, scientific, legal, and economic support, together  
with the broad participation and supervision of society  
as well as of the state.

We propose adoption of the following principles of state  
youth policy:

- Full trust in youth with regard to policy, combined  
with responsibility for the outcome of restructuring;
- Support of socially significant initiatives by youth and  
development of conditions for the accelerated social  
development and the demonstration by youth of social  
activeness and creative potential;
- Protection of the rights and interests of youth, includ-  
ing the stipulation of youth problems in special sec-  
tions of the plans for social and economic develop-  
ment at all levels.

The Law of the USSR on Youth must provide the legal basis of this policy. Following a discussion of it within the Komsomol organizations with the participation of all young people, it is necessary to propose it to the Supreme Soviet for nationwide consideration.

It is proposed that consideration be given to the possible establishment by both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a parity basis of a committee for youth affairs, which would consist of deputies from the All-Union Komsomol and other youth representatives, to coordinate state youth policy, to assure unity of action by all youth representatives upholding the interests of young people, and to monitor the activities of all state bodies and organizations that deal with youth problems.

## 2. On Behalf of Democratization

The process of democratization is regarded by young people as a key factor in the restructuring of society. The Komsomol will strive to have the necessary conditions created for the participation of each soviet person in the democratic transformations that are taking place in society. We advocate the further extension of glasnost, the functioning of all elements of our society exclusively in accordance with the rules of lawfully authorized government, and the decisive democratization of all aspects of social life, including:

- Increasing the responsibility of the state to citizens, together with that of citizens to the state, and guaranteeing human rights;
- Establishing political and legal safeguards against corruption, bureaucratism, protectionism, and the cult of personality in any form;
- Making the activities of the highest organs of state power more democratic, advocating particularly direct transmissions by radio and television of meetings of the Congress of People's Deputies and joint sessions of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet;
- Removing unjustified restrictions to the public printing and distribution of official social and demographic statistics, information on price levels and the real income of the population, and statistics of the ministries of health and law enforcement;
- Molding the historical consciousness of the people, particularly of young people, and promoting active participation in the movement for perpetuating the memory of victims of the mass repressions during the period from the 1930's through the 1950's;
- Revealing in its entirety without excision the scientifically substantiated history of the Soviet State and society, the party, and the Komsomol;

- Providing for a pluralism of ideas as one of the preconditions for the renewal of society, while decisively rebutting criticism by any anti-socialist efforts opposed in actions or words to the restructuring;
- Upholding democratic and law-abiding processes, founded upon an obligatory regard for public opinion and upon the principle of competition in proposing draft legislation;
- Passing legislation providing for glasnost, a free press, voluntary societies, and independent associations;
- Improving precision in revising a number of legal statutes (such as the article of the Criminal Code pertaining to anti-Soviet agitation, war propaganda, nationalism, and racism, and the Ukase on Conducting Meetings and Demonstrations), so as to preclude arbitrary interpretation.

We support the decision to curtail the size of the Armed Forces and to maintain weapons within the limits of a reasonable sufficiency, while assuring combat readiness primarily in terms of qualitative standards; we support making the military budget of the country public knowledge, and the redistribution of a part of it into the areas of education, public health, and housing construction.

The All-Union Komsomol will continue to support initiatives directed at improving the preparedness of youth to defend the socialist fatherland.

We will continue to press for the granting of deferments to students of intermediate and higher academic institutions who have been drafted into the Armed Forces; for the military training of young women on a voluntary basis; and for a re-examination of the curriculum in various departments of military training and in instruction regarding war supplies.

## 3. Socio-Economic Problems and Youth

The Komsomol supports the party line calling for the fundamental transformation of the economy, returning the management of production to the individual, and its orientation to meet vital living needs.

In view of the objective difficulties arising as a result of the transition to new economic forms of management, we will continue to defend the interests primarily of the more insecure and defenseless elements of the population: the young; broken families and those with many children; veterans of war and of labor; orphan children; and disabled persons.

We advocate:

- Development of various forms of socialist property, and an improvement in commodity-currency relations;

- Introduction of economic self-sufficiency on a regional basis within the framework of a single national economic complex; and an increased role for local soviets of people's deputies in economic management and the resolution of social issues;
- Accelerated social development of rural areas and the establishment of conditions for the extension of leasing contracts and cooperative efforts;
- Priority attention to solving the housing problem and to providing housing for young families;
- Improvement in labor conditions and the lot of women, and the granting of broad opportunities for mothers to work according to favorable work schedules.
- Development of a reliable state system of job placement, guaranteeing equal opportunity to young people in jobs, pay, and advancement in terms of qualifications and tenure;
- All forms of assistance needed for our contemporaries who have suffered wounds and serious injuries in the performance of their international duties and for the families of those who have perished;
- Establishment of conditions to implement the work initiatives of young people, including youth cooperatives and economically self-sufficient associations and institutions affiliated with the All-Union Komsomol; student work detachments and youth centers for scientific and technical arts; joint enterprises; contractual ties between Komsomol committees and enterprise managements; "youth fashion" centers; labor association staffs; youth foundations; commercial banks and innovative banking facilities of the All-Union Komsomol;
- Development of a system for providing state credit to young people, making it possible for them to take out long-term loans for vitally important purposes; the repayment terms to be reduced upon the birth of children or the participation of a young person in vital social programs (such as working in key branches of the economy in which there is a labor shortage, or moving to a new place of residence in a rural locality or to a new resettlement region);
- Priority development of new forms of economic activity (joint enterprises, stock companies) in the production of mass consumption goods and in developing the All-Union Komsomol's own enterprises for providing goods and services to young people, operating according to principles of complete independence and economic self-sufficiency in a free socialist market regulated by the plan;

- Development of conditions that will stimulate mass production of high-quality products for children and teenagers, such as modern games and toys, materials for technical crafts for children, electronic equipment for acquiring computer literacy, developing creative aptitudes, and instilling high esthetic standards.

We believe that the attention given today to problems of preserving the environment should be commensurate with the level of ecological danger. The following steps are essential:

- Strengthening legal liability of those in managerial positions for neglect of ecological hazards;
- Providing full information regarding the ecological situation in the country and construction of projects potentially hazardous to the environment;
- Supporting public campaigns to protect the environment and devising legal safeguards to assure that public opinion will be considered in dealing with ecological problems.

#### 4. Upbringing and Education

Restructuring and democratization are impossible without raising the intellectual resources of society, its cultural level, and state of morale.

We believe that problems concerned with the upbringing and education of the generation now growing up should become, in effect, national in scope and a matter of concern for the state. We advocate a vigorous, aggressive Komsomol policy calling for the restructuring of the school system and resolution of the fundamental problems of raising and educating the next generation. This means:

- Increasing the share of expenditures on upbringing and education in the state budget;
- Providing legal, social, and economic conditions and opportunities to ensure the uninterrupted education of young people, and working out a USSR Educational Institutions Law;
- Achieving a fundamental improvement in the teaching of the social sciences in educational institutions;
- Renovating the school system according to principles of democratization and humane treatment and developing self-government among teachers and students;
- Recognizing that the education of children is socially useful work;
- Instilling at all stages of personal development a respectful and conscientious attitude towards work, professional pride, and a desire to master one's chosen field;



- Working out legal safeguards to ensure the voluntary labor of students and school-going children during school and non-school periods; and creating a network of teacher and student cooperatives, school production associations, intermediary firms, and economically self-sufficient student design bureaus and laboratories;
- Eliminating any unjustified and contradictory labor laws involving students in agricultural or other kinds of seasonal activities;
- Organizing a system for the state and society to secure and maintain youthful talent in all spheres of activity, based upon voluntary donations by citizens, enterprises, and social organizations.

We believe that the Young Pioneer organization should acquire all rights of political citizenship and be accorded recognition at the level of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union republics; that it is important to establish year-round Pioneer camps in all union and autonomous republics as centers of contact between nationalities; and we shall continue to strive for the consistent and comprehensive development of non-school institutions in all regions of the country and particularly in rural areas.

#### 5. On Behalf of Internationalism

The Komsomol has always advocated and will continue to advocate a consistently internationalist position with regard to respecting national values and the desire of each people and nationality to preserve from one generation to the next the uniqueness of its culture and to establish favorable conditions for the satisfaction of social and political needs, together with national and cultural needs, of Soviet citizens in any region of the country.

Social, economic, and ecological problems facing the country require a consolidation of forces among all social and national groups to implement the platform of restructuring. We are against everything that leads to the opposition of peoples and nationalities or to the incitement of nationalist passions and isolationism. For the purpose of reconciling relations between nationalities in the country, we advocate:

- Further development of the Soviet Federation, and the regulation of international relations according to the principles of independence and regional responsibility;
- The securing of legal sanctions to ensure the rights of national groups, and the representation of all peoples and nationalities in the organs of Soviet power;
- Equal development and accessibility of all national cultures to all peoples of the USSR and world communications;

- The creation of conditions for the required realization of national and Russian bilingualism.

We endorse the peaceful initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. We endorse the opinion that our society should become more open, and we endorse the ideas emerging from the new thinking in the international youth movement.

In support of this movement, we believe the following actions to be necessary:

- The comprehensive development of cooperative efforts between unions of youth in other socialist countries;
- Involvement on a broad democratic basis of young Soviet men and women in developing contacts with young people abroad; cooperation with organizations of diverse political orientations for children, students, and young people; and support for the festival movement;
- Further decentralization and democratization of international communications, removing bureaucratic limits to the extension of business, cultural, and other kinds of contacts by the Soviet people with citizens of other countries.

#### 6. The Cultural World of the Young

Attaching a unique significance to the intellectual and spiritual culture and moral ideals of young people, we advocate:

- Giving youth free access to the finest examples of USSR and world art, and repudiating prohibitions with regard to the esthetic interests of young people;
- Educating the generation of those growing up in the essentials of universally humanitarian ideals and values, and in the spirit of peace, mutual understanding, and international cooperation, and instilling a love for mankind and wholehearted support for charity drives;
- Creating conditions for revealing the aptitudes of young creative minds, and strengthening the ties of the Komsomol with unions of creative artists;
- Restoring and preserving historic and cultural monuments with the widespread support of the public;
- Maintaining a healthy way of life, while eliminating drunkenness and drug addiction, and increasing efforts to combat crime;
- Developing a network of cultural centers to be transferred to Komsomol committees on long-term lease or shared with little used or unprofitable cultural institutions and public cafeterias;

—Reviewing the principles of financing and adoption by the state of decisions regarding disposition of sports of high achievement and wide popularity.

#### 7. The Komsomol at the Current Stage

The place and role of the Komsomol within the political system of Soviet society, the achievement of its revolutionary renewal, and its degree of effectiveness in participating in state and public affairs to a great extent is going to be determined by the effectiveness of our own efforts to teach the Leninist conception of the Communist Youth League.

Following the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress, Komsomol organizations undertook a radical restructuring of their internal activities. This process of getting rid of everything that hampers operating in a new way is continuing. As a result of broadening the rights and the independence of all elements of the Komsomol, there has been a reaffirmation within it of profound concern for improving intra-league relations, along with independence, democratism, initiative, and creative effort.

In the work of the Komsomol, we are obligated to move forward unswervingly with no slackening of tempo as we step up efforts to carry out practical goals that are in the interests of society as well as of young people.

In pursuit of these goals, we shall strive:

- To develop in every way possible the process of democratization in the Komsomol, to fully restore the rights of Komsomol organizations and members, and to increase their overall responsibilities;
- To improve standards, principles, and relations within the Komsomol in keeping with actual practice and Komsomol building needs;
- To achieve closer coordination with the soviets, trade unions, and social and economic organizations in dealing with problems of youth;
- To implement the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress on the necessity for the Komsomol to restore Leninist principles of party leadership and to reaffirm its organizational independence.

The kind of organizational independence that we are advocating does not signify a weakening of ties between the party and the Komsomol. The All-Union Komsomol was and will continue to be a reserve of the Communist Party and a source of active support in achieving its program goals and objectives.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol requests the committed concern of all citizens of our country in participating, together with league members and veterans, in a discussion of the draft platform, which sets forth Komsomol policy for the elections of USSR

people's deputies. The outcome of this discussion will become the All-Union Komsomol's collective mandate to its deputies in the highest organ of state power.

#### Oblast Conferences Reveal Leadership, Cadre, Economic Problems

##### Zaporozhye Oblast

1800330 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 1

[S. Sadoshenko: "Corrections to the Report: From the Zaporozhye Oblast Party Conference"]

[Text] At the obkom plenum held a week before the conference, 18 people offered comments and proposals for the draft report. The plenum assigned the bureau to make changes in the report. However, far from all of these were incorporated. Moreover, the discussion of the report during the party conference revealed that many pressing issues of the day were totally ignored or mentioned only in passing.

"The report lacks analysis explaining the reasons for the negative phenomena which currently exist in the performance of the oblast party organization." This, for example, was the opinion of V. Skidan, the secretary of the party committee of one of the plants.

Indeed, at present the oblast is not fulfilling many targets of the 5-year plan. Industry in our oblast is last in the republic in contract deliveries and next to last in acquisition of capital outlays. Year after year, plan targets for manufacture of consumer goods are not met. In Zaporozhye we smelt iron, yet iron frying pans, for example, are brought here from other oblasts.

The Food Program is also going badly. The queues for housing are growing longer. How can these failures be explained? The answer to this question is critical, yet it could not be found anywhere in the report. And for this reason at times it was difficult for the conference to develop its own point of view.

For example, the delegates did not come to an agreement on how the city should help rural areas. And again, the report did nothing to help the situation; instead of a rigorous analysis of the interrelationships between agricultural and industrial enterprises under total reliance on a cost accounting system, we are given the biting phrase: "A person who sees the law concerning socialist (actually: state. S.S.) enterprises as a loop-hole for avoiding common concerns about the harvest, meat, and milk; that person does not understand the policy, to put it mildly." And again at the party conference, some delegates demanded that city residents be sent to work in the fields, as was done in the past, while others very timidly tried to demonstrate that under conditions of self-financing such assistance must be paid for.



V. Nesterenko, chairman of the soviet of the "Zaporozhye Transformer" productive association labor collective cited a curious fact in his speech. At one of the party obkom plenums, the kolkhoz chairman dragged a harrow right into the presidium to impress them with what was needed. "Zaporozhye Transformer" decided to provide the farmers with the help they needed and undertook to produce the required harrows. However, now the oblast agricultural industrial association is refusing to buy them.

Or take the example of the production of consumer goods. Starting in the early 50s there was an 83 million dollar shortfall of such goods in the oblast. Moreover, the soviets of labor collectives of manufacturing enterprises are trying to get next year's plan for the production of consumer goods reduced by 35 million rubles. It is difficult to understand why, since such goods are needed by everyone, no one wants to produce them. Could it be that the answer lies in the deficiencies of the economic mechanism relating planning and price setting so as to motivate producers? If we could find the reason, then we would know what to do about it. However, in the report this extremely complex problem is dealt with in one fell swoop: "The task of the party committees is to reverse this erroneous tendency."

The level of analysis [i.e., overgenerality] cannot help but affect the recommendations. While in the past we were advised to "draw conclusions" and "correct the situation," now we have the universal requirement to "undergo perestroika." There is only one problem, everyone has a different concept of what is meant by this term.

"Who specifically among the members and candidates for membership of the obkom did not do their jobs? Who is to blame?" This question was asked by D. Deryabin, the chief of the mechanical division of the kolkhoz imenno Zhdanov of Melnotopolskiy Rayon, during preliminary discussion of the report. Evidently it would be too difficult to provide specific names to answer this question—there are too many of them. For this reason, at the conference the report cited instead the names of those who actually had done their jobs. But here too it was not possible to avoid "omissions of names." It was not surprising that the presidium received a note asking, "Why is the former first secretary of the party obkom, A. Sazonov, not reporting on his work?" Indeed, his name was never even mentioned, as if this Communist had never existed. There was no discussion of the lessons which should have been learned, and yet it is no secret to anyone that the new first secretary was selected in order to strengthen the leadership of the oblast. The secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Yu. Yelchenko stated this directly at the conference. A. Sazonov was reassigned to be first deputy secretary of the Ukrainian People's Control Committee several weeks before the oblast party conference. G. Kharchenko came to take his place in the Zaporozhye obkom. It is understandable that Grigoriy Petrovich

[i.e., Kharchenko], as a new arrival, has not yet hit upon the sore spots in the life of the oblast party organization. But this should have been done by the bureau when they prepared the report. In this extremely complex situation, we could sorely use an honest discussion of the style and methods of past leadership. But how could this be done when A. Sazonov was taken out of range of the criticism of his comrades?

At the party obkom plenum, V. Akhtyrskiy, a polisher at the Melitopolsk plant of tractor hydraulic units, insistently urged that the conference state that cooperatives had been "a total disaster." But the obkom report only referred to this theme in passing. And the conference delegates' anger was directed in full force at the members of the cooperatives, or to be more precise, at their high earnings. A teacher, a steel worker, and the first secretary of the party raykom, virtually everyone who spoke held the cooperative members up to shame for their excessively high prices, self-seeking, and the fact that their earnings were out of proportion to their work. In essence, the party conference condemned the cooperative movement, although this was not reflected in the resolutions it adopted.

Indeed, in the final summing up, the first secretary of the obkom noted that it was not the movement per se which was to blame for the acuity of the problems, but certain smart operators who had wormed their way into the ranks of the cooperative members and attempted to profit from the shortages. But these words spoken as the curtain fell had no influence on the general opinion. After hearing this discussion, it was very difficult to believe that the number of cooperatives would grow. All this suggests that the obkom does not have a clearly defined position with regard to cooperatives. Why is there demand for the cooperatives' goods so that they are purchased, despite their high prices, while products made by state enterprises from the same raw materials gather dust on the shelf? Why do state enterprises concede the battle to the cooperatives without a fight, without even attempting to compete with them?

There are many such problems and critical issues on the minds of the communists of the oblast today. N. Kotlyuba, first secretary of the Leninskiy party raykom spoke of this at the obkom plenum preceding the conference and proposed that these issues be considered in detail. What did he have in mind? We'll take for example the fact that in the new year only five percent of the enterprises of the oblast are preparing to structure their work in accordance the second cost accounting model, while the others are holding fast to the first model, which permits them to suffer no negative consequence for poor work. Or consider that this year there are 1,288 fewer candidates for party membership in the Zaporozhye oblast than there were last year. A total of 124 Communists turned in their party card. The entire conference could undoubtedly have been devoted to examination of the disturbing situation developing here. But on this issue too there was no discussion. Why should many

urgent issues noted by Communists at the obkom plenum have been left off the list of problems noted in the report? The answer to this question should be sought in the way the report was prepared. It was compiled by the divisions and instead of concentrating on certain major trends, they began to try to cover everything, mentioning all possible issues in the report, so, as in the old tale, each sister was given a single earring. Four pages were devoted to the activities of the soviets, a page and a half to the komsomols, a page to the trade unions, three quarters of a page to the people's control committees, etc... And even as it was, some people were left out, and those who were took offense. But would it have been worthwhile to mention everyone?

Neither the obkom division: nor the bureau were able to get away from the traditional formulas and move into the mainstream of the problems of perestroyka. Habit was so overwhelming that when the obkom staff prepared the report, they simply did not listen to the corrections made by participants in the plenum. And yet in essence, these were not so much corrections to the report as to the style and methods of work of the party obkom itself.

At the administrative plenum G. Kharchenko was elected first secretary of the Zaporozhye party obkom.

#### Kiev Oblast

1800330 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by O. Petrov: Deeds Should Be Our Criteria"]

[Text] Just before the Kiev Party conference, the oblast newspaper printed the main points of the report, and then informed the readers that they were in "direct communication" with the staff of the first secretary of the obkom. Nearly 60 calls were received. What questions did the people put to the first secretary?

In connection with a reduction in force, the professional committee of the Brovarskiy rayon division of public education consented to the firing of inspector V. Shulga, who worked here after Chernobyl. The party gorkom refused to consider the inspector's petitions.

After engineer G. Marushko of Belotserkovskiy Motor Transport Enterprise 13206 completed Kiev Motor Transport Institute, he was posted to the city of Belaya Tserkov, but for a long time he and his wife and child had no place to live, since they were not allocated space in the common living quarters.

P. Saman, secretary of the party committee of the "Gayshinskiy" sovkhoz of Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky rayon, wanted to know what has changed in their party gorkom after the structure of the system was reviewed...

These calls cannot help but put us on our guard: is it normal that people from the rayons are attempting to solve their problems by appealing to the first secretary. Why are these problems not being solved locally?

It is natural that issues such as these also took on vital importance at the conference when the discussion turned to evaluating the performance of the obkom in facilitating radical changes in the oblast's economy.

To speak of positive evaluations first, the delegates noted among the gratifying changes the establishment of working groups consisting of oblast committee members and candidates for membership to study experience gained with perestroyka in party organizations and obkom divisions, as well as commissions to develop resolutions for the plenums and bureaus and to monitor their execution and the implementation of critical notes and proposals. (A total of 140 members and candidates for obkom membership participated directly in the preparation of questions, while 116 spoke at plenums. In essence, all the members of the obkom, reported on their work in the primary party organizations).

But here is an opinion expressed to me by a member of the party obkom bureau, a furnace stoker of the Brovarskiy plant of powder metallurgy, V. Kuznetsov: "This year I went into the field twice when I was preparing questions on the work of the party organizations of the Borodyanskiy rayon and Belaya Tserkov for consideration. But what happened after that? I no longer have any responsibility when the bureau resolutions are being implemented. As was previously the case, monitoring of implementation is assigned not to a specific worker, but to a division of the committee. And it turns out that when everyone is responsible, no one is responsible. The same is true of obkom resolutions. You read them, but you can't dope out how they are actually being put into practice. Why couldn't they report to us every quarter or half year concerning how the plans are being implemented?"

The need to increase level of demands and to tighten monitoring of implementation of resolutions that have been passed was emphasized by A. Nikolayenko, first secretary of the Mironovskiy party raykom, M. Umanets, director of the Chernobyl Atomic Energy Plant, G. Plaksenko, a teacher in the Yagotsk High School, and I. Mariyko, leader of the rental collective of the "Shlyakh Lenin" [Lenin's Highway] kolkhoz of the Belotserkovskiy rayon. They pointed out that one can still sense the narrow concern with departmental interests in the bureau. Frequently questions are submitted to the bureau and secretariat which should be decided by Soviet and economic agencies.

It should be noted that G. Revenko addressed all his criticism for shortcomings in the work of the bureau primarily to himself, and also to the former second

secretary of the obkom, V. Malomuzh. And in the report we read: "we are attempting to conduct all our work openly, in a collegial manner."

Is this really the case in practice? At past party conferences in the Boguslavskiy, and Tarashevskiy rayons, the delegates sharply criticized the secretaries, Ya. Momota and N. Grigorenko for managing by injunction and attempting to decide all issues autocratically.

In addition, those who spoke at the oblast party conferences also insisted that it is essential to eliminate one-sided evaluations of the cadres. And the first and other secretaries of the obkom are to blame for overlooking the negative aspects in the way the bureau of the Brovarskiy party gorkom works and the arrogance and self-accorded license of the former first secretary, A. Frolov. They also failed to put a timely end to the lack of principles in work with cadres and the personal immodesty of the former first secretary of the Yagotinskiy party raykom, V. Shutenko. Why? They were blinded by the high economic indicators for productivity in these rayons.

The endeavor of the party obkom to move away from the previous practice of subjective selection of leaders and their attempts to break up the circle of party appointees which had begun to form were noted as positive tendencies.

During the report period, 4 obkom party secretaries, 2 deputy chairmen of the oblispolkom, 13 first and 28 other secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, and 20 chairmen of gorrayispolkoms were replaced. During the course of the present report campaign, 10 secretaries of party gorkom and raykoms were newly elected. Of these, six were selected from a field of two or more candidates. Those who were unfit were decisively let go. During the report period, 28 workers appointed by the party to the party obkom were removed from their posts. Eight of these were expelled from USSR Communist Party membership. One of their number was the former secretary of the party committee of the Chernobyl Atomic Energy Plant, Ye. Borodavko. The decision to expel him was made by the party committee of the plant, considering a discrepancy between words and deeds unacceptable in a party leader.

During the past 2 years the candidacies of more than 4,000 party leaders of various ranks, or 90 percent of those who were appointed, were discussed openly before election and one in 4 was elected by secret ballot. A total of 1,540 reports from leaders of primary organization were heard in party organizations.

Today, the speakers emphasized, there is no more important task than the search for and open development of party cadre reserves and the establishment of a school to train them in each rayon. The bureau, mindful of the recommendations of members of the obkom, reviewed its own list of appointees and reduced it in length. But, having done this, the secretaries of the

obkom, V. Malomuzh, N. Donchenko, A. Kikot, I. Kutsay, and the divisions palpably weakened their influence on the selection of cadres of leaders of economic organizations, educational institutions, hospitals, and a number of other enterprises. It is essential for party committees to develop standardized approaches to cadre policy. As was stated at the conference, a special role here belongs to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

One cannot help but be disturbed by the shortcomings in cadre policies which have grown up over the years in full view of the gorkoms and raykoms. However, the members of the committee have not paid serious attention to them. The party selection organs have a membership of over 2,500 people—the members and candidates for membership of the obkom, and members of the party gorkoms and raykoms. This is a real force to be reckoned with. But does it make itself felt as vanguard force of oblast residents? The conclusion to which the conference came was severe and just: no, at present it does not.

Why has it not become a daily practice for the members of the obkom to communicate with the secretaries of the primary organizations? Why are meetings not held with the members of the bureau? Or take the following facts, for example: in a 3 year period 2,330 people were expelled from the party in the city. The overwhelming majority were expelled for drunkenness, moral dissolution, and abuse of official positions. There are almost no cases where a Communist was brought to account for the fact that he did not take an active enough part in the processes of perestroika, or for impeding democratization or glasnost.

And the selection organs can again be reproached. Their task is to establish an atmosphere of demandingness and task-oriented criticism in the oblast. Recently, the bureau of the party obkom, having consulted with the party active membership, passed a resolution to conduct social and political certification tests of communists. Again the communists of the selection organs must take the most active role in the organization and conduct of these tests so as to ensure that they will be conducted on a truly high level. And among the most important criteria for evaluating the performance of communists must be responsibility for implementation of obligations undertaken and correspondence between words and deeds.

Again and again the delegates returned to this theme in their talks.

The main thing is not to drown perestroika in words and resolutions. Each promise, each point in a resolution accepted must be supported by deeds. This is the main conclusion drawn by the participants in this most important oblast party forum.

G. Revenko was again elected first secretary of the Kiev party obkom at the administrative plenum.



**Yaroslavl Obkom Deficiencies Noted, First Secretary Re-Elected**

18000488 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by I. Medovoy under "Party Life: At Oblast Conferences" rubric: "Right to a Point of View"]

[Text] A meeting of many thousands on the banks of the Volga and the fervent discussions about the resolutions of the 19th Party Conference at the stadium—these events of recent months that the press has reported come to mind when Yaroslavl is mentioned.

Social problems, one more serious than the other, have accumulated here over decades. Local leaders seemingly preferred not to notice them, however. And now the explosion of public indignation. The reason was the nomination of F. Loshchenkov, former obkom first secretary, as a delegate to the 19th Party Conference. The 5,000 citizens of Yaroslavl who gathered on 8 June before the monument to the poet and democrat Nekrasov demanded that he be recalled as a delegate. The special plenum of the obkom complied with the demand of the public. The citizens of Yaroslavl consider 8 June, the first day of the meeting, to be the date of birth of Popular Front, the movement to assist in perestroyka.

About half of the participants in the movement are white-collar workers. One-fifth are workers and somewhat more than that are pensioners. Students, school children and peasants account for 10 percent. Almost one-fourth are members of the CPSU and one out of seven is a Komsomol member.

The first discussions organized by Popular Front showed how profoundly the citizens of Yaroslavl are concerned about the problems of glasnost, democratization and social justice. The people have so much on their hearts now. The organizing committee of Popular Front received more than 300 suggestions just during the 2 days of discussions about glasnost. After they were analyzed, the most sensible of them were included in resolutions that the organizing committee sent to party and soviet authorities.

The discussions organized by Popular Front revealed something else as well: most party and soviet workers were unfortunately not prepared for an open conversation with an audience of many thousands.

A national movement exists. And it must now be taken into consideration as a real political force.

It is also clear that ideological workers need to gain experience in political actions and skills in working under the conditions of democratization and glasnost. And only then will it be possible to resolve the existing problems jointly. We spoke about this with I. Tolstoukhov, first secretary of the Yaroslavl CPSU Obkom, late in the evening on the eve of the oblast party conference.

"In tomorrow's conversation about work methods and style and about the influence of the obkom and other public organizations on the processes taking place, we and the delegates will have to check our compasses and plot a precise course for changing the situation for the better," said Igor Arkadyevich.

The accounting report indicated a number of concerns of the oblast party organization. The speaker put the main emphasis on the problems of the food supply, the fulfillment of the housing program and the production of consumer goods—problems that are a daily burden on the citizens of Yaroslavl.

The speaker noted that the reports and elections preceding the conferences illuminated weaknesses in the work of party organizations. In the last report and election campaign, the communists found the work of 124 party organizations and party groups to be unsatisfactory. More than 2,000 communists were expelled from the party for unseemly actions and violations of party and labor discipline over the past 2 and a half years. During this time, the CPSU obkom received more than 13,000 requests, in which oblast inhabitants came out in favor of intensifying and accelerating the process of perestroyka and expanding glasnost and democratization of all sides of party and public life.

The speaker also assessed the Popular Front:

"Where the movement has a real basis and where it sincerely and honestly assists in perestroyka, one can support it and cooperate with it. But subjectivism, playing on unhealthy emotions, and sometimes insults against party, soviet and economic leaders and law-enforcement agencies are incompatible with true democracy and cannot be tolerated.

Thirty two delegates participated in the discussion.

In his speech, Yu. Shevelin, first secretary of the Andropov CPSU Gorkom, criticized the obkom.

"It must be admitted," he said, "that at the meetings of the obkom bureau and secretariat they usually talk about the fulfillment of the plan for deliveries of output, square meters, the number of feed units per standard head of livestock and other indicators. As a rule, however, there is no talk about what is bothering the party secretary."

In the opinion of S. Kalinin, secretary of the party committee of the Andropov Production Association for Motor Building, ideology is the weakest part of the obkom's work. The obkom organization has completely adopted administrative practice and cannot get away

from it. The enterprise communists do not remember any unconstrained conversations of obkom workers with enterprise employees in the last 3 years.

These addresses were memorable because of their sharpness and clearly expressed political orientation. Nor were many other statements devoid of character. Among those rising to speak were a stock breeder and a locksmith, a school director and a milkmaid, a VUZ rector and a production association manager, and an electric locomotive engineer and a raykom secretary. But the number of problems put forward for discussion increased with each new speaker. And it became more and more difficult to understand how the mentioned problems could be resolved. What new approaches should be applied? What political methods should be used? Alas, these questions did not evoke a vigorous exchange of opinions and essentially remained unanswered.

The frequent appeals to the obkom by delegates and questions to its leadership were noteworthy. This is not bad in itself. But the appeals were very frequently on particularly economic and local questions, as if the conversation was not at the most representative assembly of communists in the oblast but at a meeting in one of the directorates of the oblispolkom. Some characteristic excerpts from the addresses:

"We tried to organize the automatic provision of warm water for livestock. It turned that this exists almost nowhere in the oblast. I consider this to be incomplete work in the agrarian section of the obkom" (A. Turbin, first secretary of the Nekoyzskiy CPSU Raykom).

"The schools are always crowded and infectious diseases are mowing down our children. I would ask Obkom First Secretary I. Tolstoykhov to give a specific answer as to whether or not the documentation will be ready in 1988 and the funds released for building schools in the micro-region of the radio manufacturing plant. If this question does not get moving in December, I do not know what how I will vote today for the members of the party obkom" (G. Guseva, turner at the Yaroslavl Radio Manufacturing Plant).

"The disappearance of soap, detergent and cosmetics from store shelves is a worry and concern. Speculation has now broken out for bed linen. When will these goods reappear? I would like a dependable answer" (Ye. Zamorina, spinner at Krasnyy Perekop Combine).

Why did the delegates raise these questions at the oblast party conference for discussion? It is apparently not so much that social problems went unsolved here for decades but mainly that party committees fulfilled many functions of soviet and economic authorities during all of this time. Hence the persistent stereotypical thinking: the main authority is the obkom and precisely it is responsible for all the shortcomings.

Yes, there was a keen conversation at the conference. In most cases, however, this keenness was at the level of everyday awareness: there are no products, no shoes, no bed linen....

It seems that to a considerable extent the course of the conversation was determined by the tonality of the report in which the abundance of economic problems stifled the conversation about a new style of work, about a new thinking, and about how to make the masses the motor of perestroyka and to teach people their rights and skills in managing the state.

Still, there was a moment at the conference when the conversation took on a directed and keen nature. This happened during the address of I. Shamshev, representative of Popular Front and member of the party committee of Yaroslavl University. Stressing that the movement to assist in perestroyka expresses the attempt of the citizens of Yaroslavl to participate in a tangible way in the management of the state, to make their own contribution to the process of perestroyka and to help in the realization of the most important party decisions, he criticized the accounting report of the obkom for its lack of scientific analysis of the situation. In view of the fact that the obkom, in his opinion, did not restructure its work, I. Shamshev proposed that the work of the obkom be acknowledged unsatisfactory. The final phrases of his speech were drowned in applause. But the ovation was by no means approving; the speaker, as we are now accustomed to say, was "clapped away," forced to climb down from the platform.

Nevertheless, I think that those sitting in the hall had reason to give thought to the rational charge of the address of the Popular Front representative. Can one really argue with the fact that to fight social sores effectively it really is necessary to undertake a profound scientific analysis of them? Or with the fact that masses of people must be extensively involved in the process of perestroyka? Or with the fact that the obkom has to bring about a serious restructuring of its own work?

It has come time to learn politics. And it can be learned only in an open debate with sensitive discernment of all the sound arguments of interested fellow citizens. The factor introduced by our time—public unrest—demands that everyone be willing to work together to seek solutions to problems. And there is no need to fear differences of opinion. The process of discussing and defending different positions and the atmosphere of struggle between opinions is a school of democracy and a university of civil conduct and new thinking.

In this sense, the results of the oblast conference of Yaroslavl communists were instructive. It reflected a real and unaltered picture of life and revealed the disposition of forces. In most cases, the addresses of the delegates demonstrated the activeness of the position. But communists still have to instill in themselves habits of political thinking, respect for other opinions and the



culture of political discussion. Still unclear is the question of how the party obkom intends to move to new forms of work to influence the processes taking place in the oblast through political methods. The conference also revealed real changes in the political situation and showed that diverse points of view are replacing the hypnotic harmony of thought. Twelve delegates voted against finding the work of the obkom satisfactory. Could something like that have been imagined 5 years ago!

The citizens of Yaroslavl were clearly waiting for changes. And the conference, in answering their hopes, renewed more than half of the oblast party committee.

The new CPSU obkom held an organizing plenum. I.A. Tolstoukhov was elected first secretary of the Yaroslavl obkom.

**Kirghiz CP CC Buro Restores Party Rights of Yusup, Literary Status of Kylych, Tynystanov**  
18300339a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 4 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Kirghiz CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the creative legacy of Moldo Kylych (Shamyrganov) and Kasym Tynystanov.

The resolution adopted states:

In revision of the resolution of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee of 5 January 1960 "On Mistakes in the Assessment of the Creative Work of Moldo Kylych and K. Tynystanov" to agree with the conclusions of the Central Commission about the necessity of restoring the historical truth about the literary legacy of one of the outstanding Kirghiz thinkers of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Moldo Kylych (Shamyrganov), and one of the founders of Kirghiz written literature, the scientist-linguist Kasym Tynystanov, who was illegally repressed in the 1930's.

The institutes of language and literature, philosophy and law of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, the Union of Writers, and the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade of the republic have been instructed to expand the study of the creative work of M. Kylych and K. Tynystanov, to publish selected works, having shown in so doing some of their ideological mistakes and errors.

The Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the rehabilitation in party respects of Abdrakhmanov Yusup, the former chairman of the Kirghiz ASSR Sovnarkom.

Yu. Abdrakhmanov was excluded from the party on 14 October 1933 by the VKP(b) Central Control Commission "for anti-party conduct, which expressed itself in the fact that, under the influence of a group of Trotskyites, not being in agreement on many questions of party policy and expressing his disagreement before the Trotskyites, not being sincere in defending the decisions of the party, he actually distorted them." The "Dnevnik" [Diaries] of Abdrakhmanov, which contained thoughts characterizing Stalin, Kaganovich, and many aspects of the domestic policy of the party being conducted at that time negatively, played a determining role in this.

Subsequently Yu. Abdrakhmanov more than once—during the years 1934-1937—turned to the VKP(b) Central Control Commission with letters about the reexamination of his party case, but he was refused in this. At the beginning of 1937, Abdrakhmanov was arrested. On 4 November 1938, he was sentenced by the assizes of the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court on charges of anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary activity and "as an agent of British intelligence" to be shot. The sentence was carried out the next day.

On 17 April 1958, by determination of the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, Abdrakhmanov was fully rehabilitated in judicial respect.

Taking into account that Abdrakhmanov was excluded from membership in the CPSU in 1933 without reason and was repressed illegally in 1938, that his disagreement in some questions with the party line of that time is not a manifestation of anti-party conduct, but reflects the resistance of health forces in the party to the distortions of the Leninist plan for socialist construction, as well as his active participation in the civil war and his services in the development of the national economy and culture of the KiASSR, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro rehabilitated Yusup Abdrakhmanov in party respect (posthumously).

The Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the rehabilitation, in party respect, of Duyshebaya Mambetaliyev, a former party official who was repressed in 1937.

It was established that on 17 October 1937, by decision of the Uch-Terekskiy Party Raykom Buro, Mambetaliyev was excluded from the ranks of the VKP(b) as an "enemy of the people, who obstructed the Soviet apparatus with alien elements." On 28 October 1937 he was arrested. On 15 March 1938 he was sentenced by a Kirghiz SSR NKVD "troika" to 10 years of imprisonment in correctional labor camps.

In response to a complaint of Mambetaliyev, the materials of the investigation of 27 July 1939 were reviewed, the decision of the "troika" was repealed, and a decision was passed to release him from custody. 2 weeks later, on 10 August 1939, Mambetaliyev died in an NKVD camp.

Taking into consideration that D. Mambetaliyev was excluded from the ranks of the VKP(b) without reason and had criminal proceedings instituted against him illegally, the Kirghiz CP Central Committee Buro adopted the decision to restore his membership in the CPSU (posthumously).

**Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Language, Cultural Relations**

18300339b Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 2

[KazTAG report: "Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] At the session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that was held on 19 January the work of the Kentau City Soviet of People's Deputies of Chimkent Oblast in regard to the international education of the population in light of the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On International Relations" was discussed.

It was noted that this work still does not meet present-day requirements and has a weak influence on the production and public activity of the collectives, the fulfillment, by them, of their contract obligations with respect to production deliveries, and the development of patronage relations and competition with related enterprises in Kazakhstan and other fraternal republics. An integrated program for the formation of national working class cadres is absent.

The "Zhilye-91" [Housing-91] Program and improvements of food supply and the service sphere are being realized slowly. Measures for international and patriotic education are rare and at times even they are not carried out. Specific problems and needs of the various national groups of the population are not studied and are little taken into account.

The proper attention to international education is not being given in general education schools, vocational-technical schools, and the mining and metallurgical tekhnikum. In many of them the study of the Kazakh, Russian, and other languages is in poor shape. The base of cultural and educational institutions is inadequate, their work is built basically on general and one-time measures, timed to coincide with significant dates. The experience of the best multi-national collectives with respect to the cultivation of international and patriotic convictions and feelings is not being propagated.

The Presidium obligated the Kentau City Soviet of People's Deputies to put into effect concrete measures to eliminate the shortcomings in this important work, to conduct it systematically and purposefully, and to strictly observe and strengthen the principles of internationalism in all the activity of the soviets of people's deputies, their executive and administrative organs.

The results of the organizational and mass work of the local Soviets of People's Deputies in 1988 and other questions of the republic's state life were also examined at the session.

M. S. M. S. Mendybayev, the second secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee, took part in the session of the Presidium.

**Turkmen CP CC First Secretary Niyazov on Electoral, Political Reforms**

18300272 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 27 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Speech by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, at the Mary Oblast party organization reports-election conference: "Intensify the Restructuring With Deeds"]

[Text] As already reported, S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, spoke at the conference of the Mary Oblast party organization.

Following is his speech, slightly abridged.

Comrades:

This conference of the Mary Oblast party organization concludes the republic party organization's reports and elections.

This important political campaign centered around an in-depth analysis of the fulfillment of decisions coming out of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 23rd Congress of the Turkmen CP, and of the practical realization of the objectives set forth at the 19th All-Union party conference.

More than three and a half years have passed since the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which initiated the course of restructuring. They have convincingly shown how consistently and specifically this task is being carried out: from comprehension of the problems and distortions which had accumulated by the mid-'80s, through the shaping of an integral concept for restoring the society to health and improving the people's life, to practical steps in all areas. It is obvious today that if the economic, social and spiritual restructuring is not bolstered with political reform, all of the restructuring processes will inevitably stagnate.

Decisions of the special, 20th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet opened up possibilities for achieving the main goal of the reform: actually to establish the working man as master both in production and in the running of the state. Renewal of the structure of the soviets, the procedure for forming the highest agencies of power and their functioning, and the electoral system was the first stage of the reform, the line marking the transition to practical realization of the provisions contained in the statute.

The reform of the political system is shedding new light on the activities of the party organizations. Today the work of the party committees is assessed on the basis of how each of them uses political methods to accomplish the tasks facing them and achieve good end results and real changes in the social and political area and in the life of the people.

The sociopolitical and moral climate in the republic has improved considerably in recent years, and the conditions have been established for the people to work creatively and with initiative. For the first time in history agricultural workers harvested 1,338,000 tons of cotton. Plans for industry and for the construction of housing, social and cultural and personal service facilities are being fulfilled. We cannot stop with what we have achieved, however. V.I. Lenin taught us that we "should move forward and achieve more."

When assessing the work accomplished by the Mary Oblast party committee, we have to mention the advances which have been made in many areas of the oblast's economic and social development. Much has been said about them in the party obkom's accountability report and in the speeches.

The most acute problems troubling the workers have been glossed over, however. A number of speeches also had a management orientation. Many delegates used the speaker's platform at the party conference to present the most diverse requests, particularly for improvement of the materials and equipment supply for enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhoses. How the oblast is going to provide the workers with food, how social problems are to be resolved and how order and discipline are to be established, however, these and other important issues were not dealt with by the Communists.

During the report period the party obkom did not succeed in accomplishing many of the goals set forth at the last report and election conference. The most acute problems in the oblast today are those having to do with providing the workers with food. Only half the official amount established for per capita meat, milk and egg consumption is being produced, even less in some rayons. These issues are raised at meetings with oblast workers and in letters received by republic agencies. People are voicing serious complaints about the organization of food supply and are demanding that proper order be established in the procurement, storage, transportation and sales of food items. It should be noted that these demands are completely just.

Yesterday we met with residents of the settlement of Peshan-Ali in Maryyskiy Rayon. Just prior to the meetings officials assured us that all of the rural stores have all of the essential goods. A visit to trade facilities revealed, however, that stores lack certain food items and manufactured goods.

This is not because they are not available at the trade bases. The cause lies elsewhere, in the fact that the clerks secrete goods. A check at the warehouses of this consumer society revealed 70 sacks of sugar, which is not available in the stores, however.

The party raykom and Comrade A.G. Gayypov, its first secretary, personally, must assess such outrages from a standpoint of principle. People who tolerate such things should not work in the service field. Speculation, the secreting of goods and the defrauding of customers should be cauterized with red-hot iron. And these negative occurrences have become widespread in your oblast. Many conference delegates are aware of them. Unfortunately, these disgraceful occurrences were far from always given a principled assessment by the former oblast leadership.

The Turkmen CP Central Committee adopted a decision to remove the first and second secretaries of the party obkom from their positions. There are still people in positions of leadership, however, who have committed the grossest of infractions of party, state and finance discipline, and they clearly have no moral right to head labor collectives. The party committees and primary party organizations should thoroughly reveal the state of affairs in all the branches and establish order in this matter.

Certain officials of city and rayon party organizations are requesting assistance with the recruitment of skilled cadres. This question, among others, was raised in the speech by Comrade A.V. Valiyev, first secretary of the Mary party gorkom. But what steps has the gorkom of the Turkmen CP itself taken in this area? None whatsoever. The enterprises need to train skilled cadres there and not count on bringing in ready-trained specialists from outside. Enterprises are receiving people with a higher education, but they need to monitor their development and help them with their professional growth.

All of us are incensed by the sanitary state of the oblast center. The municipal services and trade organizations operate extremely poorly. When are you city officials going to establish proper order? Comrades Ch. Gedzhenov and Yu.Ye. Leshchinskiy, former secretaries of the party obkom, bear major blame for this.

The Turkmen CP Central Committee will continue to evaluate from a standpoint of principle workers who do not demonstrate initiative.

No fundamental advances have been made in the implementation of the Food Program in your oblast. Many officials believe that someone higher up should take care of supplying the population with meat, vegetable and other products. Is the oblast not capable of providing its own milk and vegetables? What is hampering it? Nothing



at all. We believe that comrades Arestov, Aydogdyev, Potapov and certain other officials are not yet performing at full capacity. We expect them to increase their effort substantially.

Animal husbandry, an important branch, also continues to be developed by the extensive method. Production volumes are being increased mainly not by increasing the productivity of the livestock but by increasing the size of the herd. Meat production on oblast kolkhozes has increased by 9 percent compared with 1986, while the average daily weight gain per head of cattle fell by approximately 15 kilograms during that period. The primitive methods of raising hogs and poultry, lack of supervision and irresponsibility have resulted in a marked drop in the productivity of hogs and poultry. But a decision adopted at the last report and election conference set the target of achieving an average weight of at least 400 kilograms for cattle, at least 54 for sheep and 110 for hogs. Party obkom secretary Arestov must be held fully accountable for the failure to achieve these figures. The milk yield per fed cow was only 2,106 kilograms during the first 11 months of this year, which was 300 kilograms less than the republic average. Basic production costs are growing by the year in the oblast, as a result of which the kolkhozes and sovkhozes suffer large losses in animal husbandry. One has the impression either that some oblast and rayon officials and party committee secretaries do not want to thoroughly reveal and resolve problems involved in making animal husbandry more effective or that some of them are simply incompetent in this area. The oblast party committee has been unable to eradicate the trend of irresponsible handling of animal husbandry which is becoming established among some of the oblast's lead party, soviet and management cadres.

How can one accept the fact that production outlays for 1 quintal of milk amounted to 59 rubles last year on the Kolkhoz imeni Dimitrov in Vakil-Bazarskiy Rayon? They have worked themselves into a situation there in which there is nothing with which to pay the kolkhoz workers. And there are many such examples, unfortunately. The oblast officials deal only superficially with reinforcing the financial situation of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and do not help with the adoption of progressive management methods.

The time for irresponsible assurances and irresponsible decisions is past. Because of a lack of proper accountability and demandingness on the part of the party obkom many officials have grown comfortable with neglect of the animal husbandry branch. Because of this automatic milkers are employed on only 26 of 131 commercial dairy farms in the oblast. A lot of equipment has been cannibalized or stands idle because people do not know how to use it.

Animal husbandry problems profoundly concern the agricultural workers. They speak about this at party meetings and party committee plenums. There were

numerous speeches at the recent report and election party meetings and rayon conferences. A number of critical comments and proposals were made at plenums of the party obkom by E. Atamuradova, milker on the livestock farm of the Kommunizm Kolkhoz in Sakar-Chaginskiy Rayon, A. Byashimov, secretary of the party committee on the Kolkhoz imeni Atabayev in Vakil-Bazarskiy Rayon, A. Mukhammedova, first secretary of the Iolotanskiy Rayon party raykom, and others. The critical speeches have still not received a proper response from the party obkom, however.

Today we want to discuss certain first secretaries of party raykoms. We greatly appreciate the work of comrades B. Cholukov of the Takhta-Bazarskiy party raykom, A. Mukhammedova of the Iolotanskiy raykom, and B. Sakhatmuradov of the Karakumskiy party raykom. These are energetic, honest and competent workers. Far from all of the officials of city and rayon party organizations have earned this kind of evaluation, however. Some of them are extremely slow in restructuring their work style and have not rejected the work methods based on commands and pressure.

Mary Oblast has good conditions for completely satisfying the needs of the population for crop cultivation products. The party obkom and the oblsposkom have not succeeded in resolving the problem however. This is despite an increase in production volumes for grain, fruit and vegetables and cucurbits, and the state of these branches cannot be described as satisfactory. Vegetable production is in a particularly neglected state. Vegetable production volumes are being increased only by enlarging crop areas. They have increased by more than 1.5-fold compared with 1986, while the yield per hectare dropped by 19 quintals during that period to only 78 quintals. Onion and beet procurement volumes have been permitted to fall. How can we accept today's situation, in which only two thirds of the average republic amount of vegetables is raised per resident in the nation's southernmost oblast, which is far from enough to provide vegetables for the population not just of the city, but of the rural area as well?

The shelves of rural stores which we visited hold canned goods from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other rayons and oblasts of our republic, but only tomato juice produced in Mary Oblast. Are you truly unable to provide yourselves with at least pickled cucumbers and tomatos? The oblast has everything it needs for this. So what is preventing the officials from dealing with the matter seriously? The stores have artificial honey in dirty jars with dirty labels. One does not even want to touch such products, let alone buy them. I believe that the party obkom will get to the bottom of this and outline a specific program of action.

These matters should be resolved within the next year or year and a half. I believe that there is no other way, and in the future we will not haul in canned vegetables for you. This is unprofitable even economically. We expect Mary Oblast actually to export them and earn a profit.

Comrade directors, you need to derive the proper conclusions and rectify the situation. Do not think, however, that we are going to limit ourselves to criticism alone. We shall monitor how you resolve these problems.

Materials of the report and election conferences and plenums and the bureaus of party gorkoms and raykoms, and speeches by party and management leaders convincingly demonstrate a total lack of a sense of responsibility in many cadres for their promises and a gap between words and deeds. There is no other way to explain the fact that Maryyskiy and Vekil-Bazarskiy rayons, which did not fulfill vegetable procurement plans for the 11th five-year period, are continuing the pattern also during the 12th.

The situation is similar also on farms in other oblast rayons. This means that focused work was not performed with them by the party obkom. We need to make a careful study of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz and each brigade, and assess the situation in the party manner.

Comrades, we must not abuse the trust of the people. They expect real action and not just promises. The speakers here have correctly noted that the former leadership was generous with promises. There was no progress, however. Possibilities for increasing the food supply from personal subsidiary plots are inadequately utilized in the oblast.

The situation is no better in animal husbandry. Almost 38 percent of the rural population in the oblast have no cattle. Today I want to ask all of the officials present here to resolve the problem of distributing land and dacha plots to all who want them and to encourage individual construction. Plots have already been distributed on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and that is good. It is now up to the rayon centers and cities. Personal plots should be allocated within the city limits or on adjacent territory.

The 19th All-Union party conference, which defined providing the nation with food as the main task of the day, demanded that bold, vigorous and extraordinary action be taken to eliminate this problem within the next 2 or 3 years. The results of 1988 indicate that the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms and lead cadres have not thoroughly recognized their responsibility for the steadfast achievement of objectives set forth at the party forum. The position of the Turkmen CP Central Committee on this matter is defined in decisions of the 12th Central Committee plenum and is supported by the republic's workers.

Secretaries of the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms and representatives of the ispolkoms must bear personal responsibility for providing the population with food.

All reserves must be activated and extensive use must be made of the progressive labor organization methods for resolving the food problem. The report cited data on collectives operating under lease and named the first

lessees. These methods are being disseminated slowly, however, and there is even resistance in some places. This is because the party committees are not devoting proper attention to the matter. It was discussed at the last report and election conference of the Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon party organization by well-known corn grower Atbay Ezizov, who heads a contract collective on the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin. He also spoke here. He correctly pointed out that the economic services on rayon and oblast farms are dragging out the resolution of problems pertaining to interaction between the lease-contract collectives and the sovkhozes and kolkhozes and agroindustrial associations, and are not working out optimal economic norms.

Experience has demonstrated the enormous advantage of the contract and leasing methods of organizing labor. The party obkom needs to stop being satisfied with the quantitative part of the matter alone and rapidly accomplish the urgent tasks involved in adopting the family and lease contract and developing cooperation. This is the shortest route to increased food resources.

All of the organizational and political work performed by the party organs in the rural area must focus on establishing the necessary conditions for extensive dissemination of the progressive forms of labor organizational and incentives.

It should be clear to everyone today that the time has come for specific action and practical results. In the words of V.I. Lenin, the time slot for propaganda by decrees is past, and the masses will understand and appreciate only efficient, practical work and success in the economic and cultural work.

As we continue our discussion of party leadership of the economy, we need to discuss industry. Perceptible progress has still not been made in the basic areas. During the first 11 months of this year 14 enterprises did not reach the production level of the corresponding period last year for 42 of the most important types of manufactured goods and did not meet their targets for 11. The capital-output ratio is dropping by the year. Growth of fixed production capital fell by 6.1 percent last year alone, and the capital-output ratio dropped by 1.9 percent.

The enormous capital investments are not providing a proper return. Production capacities are utilized inefficiently at many enterprises.

The reconstruction and technical reequipment of operating enterprises are being accomplished unsatisfactorily. Starting at the beginning of the current five-year period, it was planned to spend for these purposes 7.9 percent of the total funds allocated for capital construction. This portion is still not being fully applied, however. Production mechanization and automation are being carried out slowly, at a time when half of the workers in industry are engaged in manual labor.



The large quantity of uninstalled equipment which has accumulated at oblast enterprises, a total of almost 9 million rubles worth, also indicates poor management.

There has been no drastic shift toward enhancing production effectiveness and product quality at many enterprises. According to last year's results every 5th enterprises permitted basic production costs to increase, and every 6th one failed to fulfill the labor productivity plan. The participants in today's conference are entitled to say that the oblast party committee has not demonstrated persistence in the accomplishment of these key tasks, has not succeeded in uniting the efforts of party gorkoms and raykoms, particularly the primary party organizations, and has not assessed the inertia and lack of initiative displayed by a number of enterprise leaders.

In great part through the fault of the party obkom and its bureau, using the excuse of the need to meet plan targets, some enterprise leaders have practically abandoned arbitrarily the search for ways to enhance production effectiveness. The party committees and primary party organizations have relaxed their demandingness of the cadres with respect to the intensive development of production.

The party organizations should make more vigorous and bolder use of the political methods of leadership, stop the duplication of management cadres and engage more in organizational and political work with the people.

The party obkom must step up party control and its attention to the preparation of enterprises for converting to complete economic accountability and self-financing. How we begin our work in the new year will depend upon the organizational work performed by the party committees. It is important to make a thorough analysis of the financial state of each enterprise, define a precise program of action and persistently seek ways to increase profitability.

The most important areas of activity for the party organs should be those of establishing specific training for the cadres in economic management methods and getting the primary party organizations more active in the implementation the economic reforms. Many of them are standing on the sideline at this time.

The best policy is economic policy. Therefore, if the food problem is not resolved and if the problem of providing kindergartens is not resolved, then, of course, the Central Committee will hold the first secretaries of the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms accountable. They must organize their work with the management cadres in such a way that it does not replace the latter but increases demandingness.

Some officials have the understanding that since they cannot take the place of management cadres, they cannot intervene. Then just who is to be held accountable? There is no restriction. The only restriction is personal responsibility in the collective leadership.

The party obkom did not achieve stable development of capital construction during the report period. The startup of fixed capital out of state centralized capital investments amounted to only 42 percent of the year's plan during the first 11 months of this year, a drop of 10 percent below that of the corresponding period last year.

Many reports were heard at the conference on the successful fulfillment of plans for housing and social and cultural facilities. Comrade L.V. Potapov, chairman of the oblast ispolkom, also spoke of this in his speech. How are the plans being fulfilled? At a cost of failure... at other projects. We can take pride in the result when the plan is fulfilled at all projects. The startup of four production facilities of prime importance for the economic development of the oblast and the republic is in jeopardy today, however. These are a machine-building plant, a shop for the production of synthetic ammonia at the Turkmen Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant, a knit fabric factory and a large-panel housing construction plant, where all of the reconstruction target dates are missed.

It is no great achievement to collect all of the workers at a few projects and report on their completion. This is no way to do things.

Only 77 percent of the quota of state capital set for housing construction for the year has been utilized, which is 5 percent less than for the corresponding period last year. This is the real indicator of the performance of the ispolkoms.

The year's results indicate that the forms and methods used by the party obkom and its political supervision of the construction complex are in need of major revision. Inertia and passivity are very typical of many primary party organizations in the construction branch today.

Many party organizations have not become the political nucleus in their collective and have turned into management mechanisms. This is in part due to the fact that they receive no assistance from the party committees.

The oblast party committee must rid itself of the dictatorial methods of supervision in the resolution of construction problems and rely on the primary party organizations. We must make them more militant, work seriously with the party groups and actively involve them in the work of increasing the labor and social activities of the workers. The responsibility of lead cadres for the state of affairs in the areas entrusted to them must be increased.

We need to call the Communists in charge of the construction organizations to account in the principled, party matter, particularly those who do not provide proper leadership and fail year after year to meet the targets.

Problems in the social area are not becoming less acute in the oblast. Materials of plenums of oblast party committees and appeals from the workers to the Turkmen CP Central Committee indicate that individual leaders of party, soviet and management agencies at the sites sometimes ignore the demands and requests of the people with respect to their daily needs.

Despite the decrees passed, problems of allocating individual plots for housing are not being properly resolved everywhere, and the provision of the rural areas with telephones and radios is being dragged out. There are still many settlements which lack baths, clubs and children's preschool facilities.

Yesterday we visited the settlement of Peshan-Ali. It has no bath. What is preventing the construction of one? It is not clear why this matter cannot be taken care of. Let us adopt a decision that baths will be built on all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes within the quarter. This does not require large investments, after all.

The rural residents are inadequately provided with fuel and drinking water. The women have told us that they have to catch water tankers on the roads to get drinking water. This too is in Peshan-Ali. How could it be that the Maryyskiy Rayon committee and rayispolkom do not know of this? The problem of public transportation, the absence of roads, overloaded schools, primitive medical facilities and the shortage of cultural facilities are evoking anger in the people. They are troubled the most when the words and promises of local officials are not backed up with practical action aimed at resolving the rural area's social problems. Party, soviet and management workers of the Maryyskiy, Vekil-Bazarskiy, Turkmen-Kalinskiy and other rayons exhibit the greatest irresponsibility in these matters.

Oblast party, soviet and management agencies have much to make up to the general education and vocational schools. Their situation is changing very slowly.

Practical conclusions were not drawn from the criticism voiced about the unsatisfactory care and feeding of children at seasonal children's centers on the farms of Murgabskiy and Maryyskiy rayons, for example. There continue to be cases of unconscientious provision of the children with food and with heat in the wintertime, and the indoctrinational and general education work performed by the teachers is poor. We know of cases in which school children have been enlisted for farm work in violation of the established regulations and of decisions adopted.

Let us discuss once more the enlistment of children for work in the cotton fields. There is a law which states that upper-grade students can be enlisted for 3 weeks, lower-grade students for 2. The rest of the time the children have to study. He who violates this law will be held accountable.

The trouble is that the oblast party committee does not respond to these infractions. It must be pointed out that Comrade O. Aydogdyev, secretary of the party obkom responsible for this area of the work, is frequently passive and does not demonstrate principle and persistence in resolving problems involved in educating the upcoming generation. One needs to be on fire, to strive and take action. Comrade O. Aydogdyev lacks this. And if the Communists indicate their confidence in Aydogdyev once more, he must prove himself with greater vigor. After all, the communists' supply of trust is not infinite.

The ideological work is one of the weak elements in the activities of the oblast party organizations. The process of restructuring it has been drawn out. Today, ideology is exerting a very weak influence upon the development of new thinking in the people, the implementation of the economic reform and development of the process of democratization and glasnost. Such work methods as unified political days and open-letter days are not being given new substance. The party obkom does not have a precisely defined system for enhancing the effectiveness of the ideological aktiv's work.

Slogans mostly predominate in the local collectives and at the places of residence. The activities conducted are divorced from real life and do not elicit the interest or the attention of the people. The palaces of culture and the clubs have still not become centers of systematic ideological work, and the party committees do not pioneer activities there.

Comrades, let us talk about how at least once a month every raykom secretary and ispolkom chairman could visit the labor collectives, talk with the workers, learn their needs, satisfy them whenever possible, and explain why when this can still not be done.

Yesterday the people complained that they cannot get in to see A.G. Gayypov, first secretary of the Maryyskiy Rayon committee, that he avoids meeting with the kolkhoz workers. Conflicts therefore arise. The people react properly when truly objective reasons are given for a shortage of something, particularly when it is explained to them well. When there are disruptions in the supply of sugar and bread, however, and the official is afraid to meet with the people, that, of course, is not way to do things.

The enterprise, the kolkhoz chairman and the sovkhoz director must live as part of a single family with their collectives and concern themselves with the people. Affairs in our republic will proceed more successfully in that case.

Oblast mass media workers are joining in the restructuring very timidly and uncertainly. The articles published are on a very low level, particularly in the rayon newspapers. They do not always reveal the roots of problems. The newspapers are frequently late in covering urgent issues of internal life of the oblast, the city and the rayon.

The comrades also spoke out about the newspapers yesterday. The oblast communication association and Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications] have been unable to arrange for the delivery of newspapers to Peshan-Ali and other areas. The party obkom is also idle in this matter. If the newspapers continue to be delivered the way they are today, we shall hold comrade O. Aydogdyev very strictly accountable. Right now we are told that seven issues of the newspaper PRAVDA have been missed and that there are breakdowns in the delivery of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA and the oblast newspapers. And just who should answer for this?

In short, comrades, the Communists in the Mary Oblast party organization are going to have to do a lot of work in order for the restructuring in the oblast to gain force. The main thing right now is to take vigorous action immediately, without wasting a day, and increase the effort to accomplish the assigned tasks. This is because the pace of life defined at the 19th All-Union conference and subsequent Central Committee plenums does not permit us to work at less than full capacity. The oblast party committee must set a firm course of improving its work style and switch to new forms and methods which will promote fuller participation by the Communists and nonparty members in the restructuring and the resolute overcoming of obsolete and conservative views and attitudes of dependency.

It will impossible to advance the restructuring at the desired pace without systematic and determined work to implement the decisions adopted by all the subdivisions—from the primary party organization to the party obkom—without a general state approach to all matters and without demonstrating constant concern for the interests of the population.

It is the task of party organizations today persistently to direct the growing political activeness of the workers into the channel of practical action, to convince the people and establish a clear understanding of the fact that the urgent problems can be resolved with a common effort, with a large output at each work station and with an innovative and responsible approach in all areas.

The preelection campaign for the election of people's deputies of the USSR is developing in the nation. These elections are to be conducted according to the new law, which has opened up possibilities for nominating several candidates and for the democratic election of deputies capable of assuming the new labor duties of fully empowered soviets. All of the future political and economic reforms and the society's social well-being will depend in great part precisely upon them.

It is the task of the party organizations to promote in every way the fullest possible democratic manifestation of the people's will.

In conclusion, comrades, permit me to wish you goal-oriented and vigorous work and significant results in the implementation of the revolutionary reforms.

#### **Turkmen CP CC Responds to Complaints on Blocked Youth Initiatives**

18300273 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 30 Dec 88 p 1

[Turkmeninform report: "To Restructuring—the Vigor of the Youth"]

[Text] As already reported, a meeting of members of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro and youth representatives was held on 27 December in the republic's Political Education Center.

Opening the meeting, S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, stated that there had long been a need for such a meeting. The Turkmen CP Central Committee wants to see our youth active, searching and capable of accomplishing the tasks involved in restructuring. We have gathered today, at the threshold of the New Year, to discuss problems troubling the youth, to determine the problem areas and think about how to eliminate them. It is no secret that we have young people who are passive, inert and not yet capable of defining their stance in life. How can we help them find their place in the society? Where should we focus our efforts and energy? Where should we get involved? I want us to think together about these matters today. Officials from republic ministries and departments are present at our meeting. Explain your problems to them, ask them questions and suggest solutions. It is important that our meeting not be a mere formality, that it produce specific, perceptible benefit.

The lively, direct discussion of pressing problems of young people lasted more than 3 hours. From the speaker's platform and through microphones installed in the auditorium the participants spoke with concern, sometimes unflatteringly, about what is troubling them, debated and asked questions. Some of the speakers in the auditorium held the identical position that the youth want to work, to build housing and other facilities, but they are constrained. They are hampered by departmental barriers, bureaucratic impediments and a disinclination on the part of the "superior" departments to understand the concerns of the youth. Providing housing for the youth is an acute problem in the republic, for example. The MZhK [youth housing cooperatives] could help to resolve it, but officials of certain of the republic's construction organizations regard their members as dependents seeking benefits only for themselves. More than 6 months ago, Sergey Vdovin, chairman of the Ashkhabad MZhK, said, we sent to the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers a plan for developing youth housing construction, but we have still not received a reply.



Speaking at the meeting, A.D. Sviridov, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the Turkmen SSR Gostroy, reported that the plan will be considered in the near future. A shortage of construction materials, he noted, is the main factor retarding development of the MZhKs.

Participants in the meeting unanimously agreed that the youth must enter with vigor and initiative into the development of the cooperative and leasing systems in construction. This would unquestionably make a contribution to the republic's social improvement. Members of the bureau of the Turkmen CP Central Committee fervently supported the desire of the Komsomol members to build a republic youth camp on the shore of the Caspian Sea.

Many problems were discussed in the candid dialog which developed in the auditorium. There was a fusillade of questions about improving the materials and equipment base of the VUZes, schools, vocational and technical schools. The training buildings of medical and teachers' schools are in a sad state. VUZ students are poorly provided with hot food, and its quality leaves something to be desired.

The speakers typically discussed not just the deficiencies enumerated, and there was no note of dependency in their words. They all offered to help and named specific ways. Yu. Steblovskaya, secretary of the Komsomol Committee at the TGMi [Turkmen State Medical Institute] suggested using VUZ students and graduate students for providing medical aid. It could be in the form of a student health clinic used by all the city's students.

The students themselves offered to repair one of the old buildings of a former teachers' institute turned over to the medical school. Students at the physical culture institute very much want to put their sports facilities into proper shape. A desire on the part of the young people is not enough, however. They need help from the appropriate ministries and departments. Kh. Akhmedov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, M. Aliyeva, Turkmen SSR minister of education, A. Durdyev, Turkmen SSR minister of trade, D.B. Tesler, first Turkmen SSR deputy minister of health, and other officials indicated from the speaker's platform that such help would be forthcoming.

The discussion between representatives of two generations covered the most diverse aspects of youth life. The youth audience demonstrated great interest in matters pertaining to the implementation of the political reform and the new electoral system.

S.M. Nesterenko, second secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, answered all these questions.

The participants spoke with alarm of the fact that the rural youth have a poor command of the Russian language. It is difficult for them to study at VUZs or to

acquaint themselves with the achievements of Soviet and world culture. Many rural schools have no Russian language teachers for years at a time, and few people seem concerned about this. The fact that the best works produced by writers in the fraternal republics in recent years have not been adequately translated into the Turkmen language was also discussed.

S.A. Niyazov shared the concern of the youth audience about the general cultural level in the republic.

"Your concern is near and clear to us," he said in his concluding remarks to the participants. "Many problems await resolution, and we will resolve them without fail. With your assistance and your active participation. The time will come and we will get down to working on museums and memorials, and we shall place the Akhaltekin Horse, the pride of our people, onto a bronze pedestal. Today, however, we want you, our replacements and our reserve, to see and understand what is most important, to be able to ascertain what must be done first. You know how neglected our social area is, how many people still need housing and how many health clinics, schools and kindergartens are lacking. Many vacated administrative buildings have been turned over for use as health facilities.

The building which housed the former Ministry of Light Industry has been converted into a fine arts museum. That is a good thing. We welcome it. Like you, we also dream of having in the republic's capital a fine movie and concert hall, for which there is an acute need. So let us build it. We shall build a new exhibition hall and open a rug-making museum. We just need to set to work harmoniously, all together. The situation in the republic is a good one, a creative one I would say, and it needs to be reinforced in order to move on. We want you to be politically mature and capable of defending socialist convictions, resisting every sort of spiritual corrosion and rust, to be able to separate real values from imaginary ones. The process of purifying the society will continue and intensify, and your energy and your enthusiasm are essential for this. The young people's belief in the bright ideals was undermined during the years of stagnation. It needs to be restored, and we need to arouse patriotic and internationalist feelings in the youth. The Komsomol's role will grow in this situation. All of its workers—from the primary organizations to the Central Committee—must seek new work methods, not lock themselves up in their offices, visit the labor collectives more frequently, take an active interest in the needs of the youth and provide them with practical assistance. The Komsomol has the capabilities, considerable ones, for this.

Today you have spoken with suffering of the tragedy which has befallen the Armenian people and about your readiness to help them. You have spoken about how the Afghan veterans need to be surrounded with universal concern and attention. Your attitude makes us happy and gives us confidence that our youth are morally pure

and capable of good and great deeds. We cannot close our eyes to the fact, however, that a great many people still do not know how to resist shortcomings, substitute high-sounding words and demagogic slogans for action, and direct their criticism to those around them instead of beginning with themselves. And this is a dangerous and unhealthy trend! The restructuring demands first of all honesty, order and openness.

Nothing you have said here will be forgotten. Specific steps will be taken in response to many of your questions, suggestions and comments. Some things will have to be done later, but the foundation has been laid for serious communication. We shall meet with you on a regular basis, but the important thing is for these meetings to carry over into action.

I wish you and all of Turkmenistan's youth, whom you represent, a happy New Year. May it be a successful and happy one for our republic and for each of you.

#### **Grodno Party Conference Discusses Tolerance for Dissent, Informal Groups**

18000329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by A. Simurov, A. Ulitenok, "PRAVDA" correspondents: With the People and for the People. Notes From the Grodno Oblast Party Conference]

[Text] The draft summary report was rehearsed from the beginning at the obkom plenum which preceded the conference. The social sphere, as it should be, was top priority in the report. And the speaker—Hero of Socialist Labor L. Kletskov and long-standing leader of the Grodno Communists—summed up in the concluding remarks: better organization of ideological-educational work in the labor collectives and increasing the creativeness of this work have become the number one tasks for the future; if we fail to do this, we will not manage to solve those social problems nor to accelerate the development of the basis of all bases—the economy.

It is true that life rapidly changes the priorities in Party work. Grodenites have long set the pace for the whole republic in the agrarian sector of the economy and the obkom members also have no reason to be embarrassed about the state of affairs in industry. All over Byelorussia it is said that the oblast's workers are masters. And masters are also distinguished by a constant preoccupation with how to progress from good to better.

L. Kletskov reasoned—The road forward lies through the consciousness and heart and soul of mankind. People are tired of unthinking fecklessness. It is doubly difficult for us communists. Firstly, we, ourselves, have to repudiate the usual authoritarian methods and secondly, we should stimulate initiative, responsibility, and a sense of reasonable risk in people. Note that these are also the very same qualities, which many of our Party workers are still lacking. Hence—the criticality of the situation...

Whatever is right is correct and it is no coincidence that the problems of ideological work were raised and sharply interpreted without embellishments at the conference. And the delegates reflected aloud, we have learned to conduct scientific-practical conferences on the more important topics and not to rely upon "roundtable" sessions, information-propaganda groups visit the collectives without the former dread and citizens' gatherings, the day of the open letter, and the day of political information have become customary. We are conducting a great number of various "actions", "undertakings", and "weeks", which require energy and diligence from the Party activists, and from the "passive"—no less long-suffering.

V. Karpach, secretary of the "Grodno Industrial Construction Committee" Party Committee, declared from the rostrum—It is only in the last few months that the overcoming of the crisis—I am not afraid of this word—in ideological work in the oblast has begun to take shape. An integral program for the restructuring of ideological work is still lacking. Unfortunately, we avoid people with a different train of thought and we lack goodwill, competence, and tolerance toward the unusual and for the time being the science of democracy and glasnost is being understood with great difficulty.

Bitter and honest self-criticism... This is the case unless perhaps the imposition of a ban on the attempt of informal groups to conduct some type of discussion in the assembly hall at the state university is considered a "victory". Or the Grodno gorkom gathered the Party activists in order to enlighten them about the very same informal groups, however they did not do this in the form of an open and pointed dialogue with the leaders of the Party activists, but in the form of a customary briefing...

But on the other hand the "Grodno Industrial Construction Committee" Party Committee was not afraid to invite the informal groups to its meeting. The discussion turned out to be pleasant and worthwhile for both parties. For example, the construction workers decided to hold a ceremonial meeting in the Byelorussian language in honor of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Byelorussian SSR and the republic's Communist Party. Upon hearing this, some conference delegates exchanged glances: it would be all right if this idea arose in the midst of the creative intelligentsia, but... the construction workers. The misgivings were not voiced aloud, but the old recurring fear of "a nationalistic tinge" was almost imperceptible in the tense silence. As if clearing the air, Ya. Trishina, the secretary of the local Party organization at the "Rodina" collective farm in Ostrovets rayon, stated:

At one time extremists from neighboring Vilnyus were frequent visitors to our parts and attempted to create hostility among the Lithuanians, Poles, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians, who are living here. I, myself, am a Lithuanian and along with my other comrades, I was



filled to the limit with indignation by the far-reaching objectives of the uninvited visitors. They were duly rebuffed and the overwhelming majority of the population did not fall for the false propagations, demonstrating the solidity of international policies. But it is incumbent upon us to draw conclusions from this incident and to take a fresh look at our approaches to the nationalities policy. The reasons for many mistakes lie namely in the rejection of new ideas and in the unwillingness of the cadres unit to give up their habitual thought patterns and ideological clichés. For example, at the end of September when a group of Grodenites stated their desire to conduct an unusual measure there—a day for remembering their ancestors in prayer, a “powerful arm” of supporters was found: who cares that it is forbidden and prohibited! And nevertheless a different sensible point of view prevailed—but what was wrong with this idea and why was it necessary to call on the militia for assistance? Party leaders also joined the young people and intelligentsia on that day. As a result, their authority has increased noticeably.

It was also stated from the rostrum that Party and economic leaders still have not overcome a chronic ailment—the fear of going to the midst of the people, relieving stressful situations on the spot, and preventing sharp conflicts. The testimonial concerning the obkom secretary, V. Semenov, who monitors the economy, resounded in sharp contrast: “Vladimir Mikhaylovich is well-known in our organization. One can always obtain concrete assistance, advice, and the required support from him. He is a man of great erudition and high Party culture”.

This was not said for the sake of a compliment, but from the heart. It is fervently hoped that leaders such as V. Semenov will increase among the Grodno Communists. S. Matyuk, the first secretary of the Oshmyany Party raykom accurately stated: if previously during the selection of a candidature for advancement we were guided by the phrase “responsible person”, today different people are required—competent, talented, courageous, and independent candidates and superintendents of perestroika.

The development of democracy and glasnost has assisted in the search for enthusiasts of perestroika. In this same Oshmyany, 48 leaders were elected from several candidatures, three quarters of the secretaries of the local and workshop Party organizations and almost all of the Party group organizers. And nevertheless, it is still too early to talk about a systemic approach to applying democratic methods in working with the cadres. Thus, reliable reserve cadres from rayon party groups were nominated at public meetings. But it amounted to the filling of few vacancies—and an immediate snubbing: “reservists” do not pull their weight...

The lack of ideological-educational work force us to think seriously about the role and place of such people as the foreman and the brigade-leader. Special

sociological research has discovered: their authority among the workers is two-three times less than among the managers of factories and workshops.

A. Semenov, the general director of the political department at “Khimvolokno” (translator’s note: chemical fiber) stated,—The democratization of production and the abolition of the authoritarian style of management is a collective process, which unites everyone: the upper, middle, and lower elements. When the workers’ rights are expanded, the work brigades assume additional responsibilities and begin to independently solve the painful problems,—this requires that they maintain the closest contact with the managers.

Unfortunately, it is just this type of contact that is frequently lacking. The work brigade at the Novogrudok garment factory and T. Kasperovich, the chairman of the labor collective’s Soviet, feel that some Party and Soviet workers and industrial managers do not take the workers’ participation in management seriously.

The work brigade stated at the Party conference,—For others, this is merely *modus operandi*. At times the administration submits issues for our consideration, which are either of minor importance, or those, which it does not wish to look into, itself. And the Party committee closes its eyes to this, it is more interested in finding out, who is more powerful today: itself, the local trade union committee, or the labor collective’s Soviet. But the purpose of the Party committee’s work is also to serve as its own kind of political intermediary between all of us.

Developing this thought, the delegates also raised the question concerning the fact that the time has come to create the legal bases of the relations between the labor collectives’ Soviets and the bureaucracies and ministries and public organizations.

There are also many contrived barriers on the path to restructuring the activities of the local Soviets. The situation is paradoxical: the territory is accountable for the plan, but the bureaucracies distribute resources. Instances, when both the desire and ability exists locally for a favorable solution to some kind of critical problem, but the matter is nevertheless stopped, are particularly displeasing to the people. During the break between sessions, we talked with Ye. Ulasevich, a dairymaid at the Lenin collective farm in Ivye rayon, who had spoken out pointedly at the conference. It is staggering: every year the farm has several million rubles net profit, however Yelena Genrikhovna and her girl friends, as she remarked bitterly and ironically, have one “assembly”—hands, wash-basin, scraper, and a pitchfork. This is on new model premises. The question arises: what then is the purpose of making those millions of rubles?

At present the oblast’s collective farms and state farms have raised their profitability by almost 40 percent and profits total more than 400 million rubles. But in spite of all this Hero of Socialist Labor I. Senko, chairman of

"The Road to Communism" collective farm, experienced the greatest difficulties in obtaining the bare necessities in sanitation-engineering equipment and even took the matter up with Gosplan.

He said—I have encountered a certain complete astonishment: bathes and lavatory pans for the village? Comrades, when exactly will we actually begin to assign the village equal status with the city? We already have 300 apartments with all the modern conveniences. And because we have enough manpower, things are going well. For example, our livestock breeders regularly enjoy two days off a week. We do not only think about the working people. Extra privileges are granted to pensioners at the collective farm's expense, including a considerable monetary allowance.

Indeed, real concern for people's needs is a powerful educational factor. Everyone shares this truth in theory and in words. But in actions... A figure was cited almost proudly at the conference: 1 ruble and 11 copecks per ruble of wages is the quantity of consumer goods being produced today at the oblast's general purpose factories.

For a three-year period their output has exceeded planned figures by 200 million rubles. It sounds impressive. Meanwhile the counters at local stores are far from being well-stocked.

...While the votes were being counted after the elections of the new obkom staff, we visited the city's black market. Hundreds, even thousands of people were walking between rows of resourceful vendors and they were asking prices and bargaining. It was possible to buy practically everything that was in short supply in the Grodno stores. For an appropriate price, of course. And it occurred to us: a counting of votes of its own kind was also taking place there. Here is the only question: for whose benefit? The less frequently thousands of Grodenites are forced to go there, the more resolutely they will support perestroika.

The conference confirmed that this is being realized with increasing distinctness. Hence—here is one of the fundamental orders from the conference delegates to the elected obkom: be more perceptive to people and their needs.

**Korotich Denial of Laudatory Review of Brezhnev Book Rebutted**

18000478 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE  
OBRAZOVANIYE in Russian  
No 18, Dec 88 pp 100-102

[Unsigned article: "But Then What Is the Truth? (Regarding a Statement by V. A. Korotich)"]

[Text] In the journal OGONEK (No 44, 1988) V. A. Korotich asserts that in 1982 the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE (that was the former name of our journal) used his name to sign the "essay of an unknown specialist" and "comment," in which the role of L. I. Brezhnev's books was exaggerated. Comrade Korotich stated that "when the memoirs of the former head of the Soviet power were published, I did not have anything against the memoirs themselves, but I nonetheless did not write the nonsense published in this journal under my name. But at the time I sent a telegram to the editorial office about the impossibility of acknowledging the article as my own. Obviously, we are dealing with a case where the person whose name was on the cover may not necessarily have written the memoirs themselves, and the person whose name was signed may not necessarily have written the review."

In numerous meetings and in their letters to the editor, our readers ask, is it really true that V. Korotich wrote nothing like what was published in the journal? Among others, Valeriy Sergeyevich Markelov (city of Moscow), secretary of the party bureau of the shop party organization, writes: "Comrade V. A. Korotich's rebuttal published in the journal OGONEK (No 44, 1988), where he renounces the article "Together with the Party, Together with the People" (POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 2, 1982), raises a large number of questions among our Communists. I asked you to publish this explanation: "Does Comrade V. A. Korotich's rebuttal correspond to the facts?"

Well, a real need for some explanation did in fact arise after Comrade Korotich's announcement. A serious accusation was made against the journal's editorial office, even though it was 7 years late. Since the associates who were directly involved in the publication of this material (among them the editor in chief) no longer work in the editorial office, we had to turn to the archives. V. Korotich's unedited author's manuscript with his signature and the telegram were kept. A comparison of the original and the published article allows the situation to be in large part clarified.

In fact, the text sent by V. Korotich was edited. In order for the reader to judge its character, we shall offer him the opportunity to compare the beginning and the end of the printed article (see POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 2, 1982) with the corresponding excerpts copied from the original which are published below.

*The "Vospominaniya" [Memoirs] of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev is a surprisingly timely book. First published in the days when a whole ocean of hostility was being stirred up especially vigorously around the Soviet country and when all the forces which up to then had not yet forgiven us for October were trying to once again compromise and downplay the achievements of the Revolution, the honest and specifically addressed book by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev came out and resounded throughout the world.*

*In rereading and rethinking the "Memoirs" and adding them to the trilogy familiar to us before and to all the well known activity of the leader of the party and the country, one invariably senses the integrity of the perception of the times and the integrity of the criteria by which the personality of the country's leader is constructed, evaluated, and formed.*

*A new, very topical and precise book by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev lies on our desks. Addressed to us, it is no accident that it has aroused such interest throughout the world. The head of our state and party from the very beginning recalls his life path; the lessons of this path are instructive and unusual.*

*(Handwritten signature) Vitaliy Korotich*

It is obvious that the first of the excerpts was rewritten (while preserving the sense of it), while the second was only edited slightly. Such an approach continues to be encountered in editing even now. Insertions were made in a number of places in the original author's manuscript. They were most significant on the first page of the article. As a rule, they were either quotations from books by L. I. Brezhnev or phrases from the salutation of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of his birth (those very "points in common" which V. Korotich obviously has in mind in his telegram). In addition abridgements were made. Among other things, the following author's positions were left out of the article.

*The attractiveness of the personality of the General Secretary of our Central Committee is exceptionally convincing; it is persuasive precisely because of the social character of the analysis and the choice of the real life examples and evaluations. If the "Memoirs" are treated as above all a literary work, then the words of Anatoliy Vasilyevich Lunacharskiy, one of the founders of Marxist literary criticism in our country, are applicable to them: "One must take hold of contemporary times in a skillful way: in these contemporary times one must choose what makes them a very significant feature of the history of mankind."*

*All the years of the "Memoirs" author are filled with the struggle for truth. This truth is achieved through suffering and the struggle for it is carried on openly, irrepressibly, and constantly. That is the general spirit of the narration; there is no pose, no exaggeration of his own personal merits in the overall achievement: let others evaluate them. At the reception in honor of his own recent 75th birthday, Leonid Ilyich spoke some very important words*



on modesty which we all remember, and in accepting the fourth star of Hero of the Soviet Union he emphasized:

*And now let us return to the beginning of the "Memoirs" and mentally glance over the entire life of the man who has the right today to speak on behalf of the greatest state and party in history. Where is he from? Here, in my opinion, it is important to again emphasize that Leonid Ilyich, a remarkable product of the Revolution, that very marshall who brought his staff of office in an ordinary soldier's pack, matured along with the entire new social formation. Here is something to think about."*

*The "Memoirs" are extremely important to every person. One must be an unquestionably strong, bold, and talented person to write them. This work, a work for every day, is intimately tied up with the daily ideological activity of the CPSU.*

A comparative analysis shows that the added and omitted texts were in essence complimentary. The difference in them is perhaps that the edited version is markedly closer to the official evaluations of the books and personality of L. I. Brezhnev which were in the documents of that time, while the author's version is presented in a more personal, emotional, and elevated way.

As for the predominant part of V. Korotich's manuscript, it makes up the main content of the article "Together with the Party, Together with the People." The original confirms once again that the positions contained in this article belong specifically to the pen of V. Korotich—the idea of the "moral maximalism" of L. I. Brezhnev, which is "instructive for each of us"; the statement that the story of his parents "could even go straight in school history books (and, most likely, it should be included)"; and the interpretation of the image of the author of the "Memoirs" as a man who lives facing the fire. V. Korotich's authorship is also confirmed in relationship to many other thoughts, conclusions, and generalizations of a fundamental character.

Now let us turn to V. Korotich's renunciation of the article. The following telegram in the name of one of the former literary associates came to the journal on 11 January 1982:

*This number of editorial additions and rewrites makes the article not mine there is not point in me signing just some individual parts—I'm sorry Vitaliy Korotich.*

But how did events develop further on? Did the editors really publish the article without the author's consent? The following report by a former member of the journal's editorial collegium answers these questions:

*In January 1982 when I was on official business in Kiev, at the editor's instruction I met with Comrade V. A.*

*Korotich in regard to the telegram which he had sent. The meeting took place in the editorial office of the journal VSESVIT, the editor of which he was at that time. Comrade V. A. Korotich expressed his dissatisfaction at the fact that associates of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE had made corrections to the review he had written of the book by L. I. Brezhnev, "Memoirs." It is inadmissible, said Vitaliy Alekseyevich, to correct a work whose author is a professional who has devoted his whole life to literary work.*

*Nonetheless, after a short talk Comrade V. A. Korotich gave his consent to publish his article in the form in which it was prepared by the editors of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE.*

*5 November 1988.*

*(Handwritten signature) P. Svechnikov*

*Former deputy editor in chief of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE.*

One other document attests to the fact that V. A. Korotich in fact changed his original intention (unfortunately he did not inform the readers of OGONEK of this):

*A fee of 125 rubles and 53 kopecks was sent from the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE No 2 to V. A. Korotich for the article "Together with the Party" by money order No 344 of 3 March 1982 addressed to: 252010 City of Kiev, Zankovetskaya Street, Building No 3, Apartment 10.*

*The fee was figured at 133 rubles. Income tax of 1 ruble 95 kopecks was withheld. The total was 128 rubles 5 kopecks. This sum was not returned to the account of the "Pravda" Publishing House.*

*(Signature) Chief accountant*

*(Signature) Senior accountant*

As we see, the facts and documents reconstruct the truth. It is not out of a desire to reproach V. A. Korotich for what he wrote and how he wrote it in his article in 1982 that the editors are publishing them. V. Korotich's present attempt to put the responsibility for the position he took earlier on others arouses distrust (to put it mildly). Moral self-purification and strict demands on oneself both for past actions and for present ones is the first condition of the honest and effective struggle of each of us for renewal and for our common genuinely party rather than strictly personal interests.

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**Moscow Symposium on 1962 Caribbean Crisis**  
*18300316 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
7 Feb 89 p 5

[Article by Melor Sturua: "The Dialectic of the Caribbean Crisis"]

[Text] The most celebrated of the "fragments" of the great ancient philosopher and dialectician Heraclitus of Ephesus, or Heraclitus the Dark from Ephesus, fragment 91 reads: "It is not possible to enter one and the same river twice." The participants of the symposium on the Caribbean crisis of 1962, which was held in Moscow during the last days of January, tried to disprove this aphorism of the ancient Greek sage. But, fortunately, unsuccessfully. With all the unquestionable importance of the historical reconstruction of the dramatic days of October 1962, the main thing in the work of the three-sided "roundtable" (in political geometry such a thing is possible) were the topic of the day and how to spare tomorrow from it. This is why the work of the symposium attracted such great attention of the public and the mass media, this is why M. S. Gorbachev and George Bush considered it necessary to address it with a special message.

The notes following below have a fragmentary character.

I would only like to re-create the atmosphere of the meeting, all the more so because, according to the agreement adopted, everyone of us, the participants of the symposium, has the right to speak only for himself and in his name, until a polished, corrected and supplemented verbatim report of the meeting will be published as a separate book. . . .

In the approach of the Americans the past prevailed, in the approach of the Cubans—the present, and in our approach—the future. It goes without saying, such a breakdown on the basis of time bore an extremely conditional character. In reality, all the times became interlaced, they could not but become interlaced. And nevertheless. . . .

The Americans conducted themselves as if they were in the Situation Room of the White House or in the Oval Office of President Kennedy. For this, they had, so to speak, personal reasons. Not in any other delegation were there so many immediate participants of the Caribbean drama as in the American delegation. MacNamara at that time occupied the post of secretary of defense, Bundy—special assistant to the president for national security, Sorenson—presidential adviser, Salinger—White House press secretary, and General Smith—deputy chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. . . . Having thrown off their jackets as if on command, they, as it were, were playing themselves, grown younger by 26 years, freely, and what is the main thing, gladly, getting used to the roles which had secured them a place in history. All of us, to one degree or another, are egocentrics.

But there was still another reason for the American orientation to "yesterday." Besides the immediate participants of the Caribbean crisis, the delegation of the United States was made up of many professional historians. "Yesterday" is their bread. And speaking openly, we have supplied them with that bread in truly blockade rations. Including also, with respect to the Caribbean crisis. On the American side, dozens, if not hundreds of books, have been written about it. The number of pages of declassified documents comes to 15,000 pages! Well, and we? A number of journal articles, a few chatty memoirs, fundamentally weeded by the censorship. The blockade ration of glasnost during the period of stagnation could not feed anyone to satiety—neither us, nor them. Not without reason did the Americans bring with them a long list of questions, the answers to which still very recently could be qualified as a most serious crime—the exposure of a state secret. I gained the impression that even the January symposium did not satisfy the hunger of the American historians. However, even the American side did not put all the cards on the table. Some of them are under the stamp of secrecy to this day.

The Cubans were directed toward "today." For them, the Caribbean crisis did not end in October 1962. Guantanamo continues to be seen as a thorn in the body of the island of Freedom. I looked intently into the faces of the comrades Gorge Risket Valdez, Sergio del Valle Jimenez, and other associates of Fidel Castro, who shoulder to shoulder with him and Che Guevara established and defended the new life in Cuba. For the first time, they sat behind a "round", though unofficial table at the same time with representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. Risket opposite MacNamara. In 1962 it would have been impossible to even think about this! Rafael Hernandez, who was then the chief of the General Staff—opposite General Smith. . . .

General Smith talked about the fact that the military do not like wars. They like to rattle the saber. But if the matter comes to war, they wage war according to the rules (of course, not the rules [Charter] of the United Nations), that is they try to attain victory with the least losses. I cited his words in order to make the transition to the Soviet position at the symposium, a position in which "tomorrow" dominated. Mankind will not have this tomorrow if the generals will, as before, orient themselves to victory, in war, even if with little blood. What is more, what is such "little blood" in our missile and nuclear century? One hundred million, a billion, two billions? . . . . The degree of admissibility of human losses is now already not a military, but a moral category. Human life is the highest value, the right to live is the highest right. This is precisely the point of departure for the primacy of all-human interests over any others, and consequently—the de-ideologization of inter-state relations, which has become one of the cornerstones of the new political thinking.

I repeat, the American "yesterday," the Cuban "today," and the Soviet "tomorrow" were present at the symposium in dialectical interaction. The joint declaration of the participants of the symposium states: "Having restored the picture of the dramatic events of October 1962, and having removed a number of blank spots in the history of the Caribbean crisis, we looked at the past through the prism of the present and endeavored to look into the future."

Although I voted for the joint declaration from which these lines are taken, I will nevertheless permit myself to express a "special opinion" as well. In the discussions that took place at the symposium, the thought crept in secretly: If the Caribbean crisis had not taken place, it would have to be invented. The essence of the argument was the following: In 1962, even the missile and nuclear conflict between the USSR and the United States would not have led to the destruction of human civilization. Later it was already impossible to permit ourselves the luxury of such a lesson. To the mind again comes the "fragment" of Heraclitus: Nature is experienced through feelings, but the eyes and ears of those who have "crude souls" are poor witnesses. The simple accumulation of facts does not make wise.

Yes, the wisdom which was accumulated during the period of the Caribbean crisis helped to diffuse it. But what followed it? An unprecedented, senseless arms race, first of all of the nuclear missile arms. By October 1962, the correlation of forces in this sphere, according to American data, which we do not dispute, as follows: 5,000 missiles for the United States, 300—for us. At present, the nuclear warheads in the world number something around 50,000, equivalent to more than a million Hiroshimas. Never mind the extraction of a lesson! The "Caribbean injection" was not only an inoculation against an epidemic, but also the epidemic itself. It could not extirpate the deep roots of the confrontation of the blocs opposing each other, which were oriented to the ideologization of inter-state relations, which gave rise to the "enemy syndrome," which whipped up the "Cold War," the irrational aspiration to know as little as possible about each other (military secrets not counted) and to know selectively, so as to nourish negative stereotypes.

Some echoes of this could be heard at the symposium as well. This is entirely understandable. All of us are learning the new political thinking, we are in the process of comprehending it. But, look, what difference there is in the "methods" of study: Not on the basis of conflicts, but on the basis of their elimination. And the understandings. We already no longer need Hiroshima and the Caribbean crisis in order to realize: There must be no nuclear war, there will be no victors in it. "The most beautiful monkey is ugly by comparison with the species of people," reads still another fragment of Heraclitus. The most instructive conflict is worse than the art of reason not to bring the matter to a conflict. Worldwide, nuclear-missile, and regional. Not without reason were

such words as "Vietnam" and "Afghanistan" heard at the symposium as well. . . . I am leafing through notes taken in the course of the symposium. . . . Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, in telling about the dramatic tension of those days, underscored the dialectical interdependence of time and space (the blockade parameters established by Washington). Moscow gave priority to this interdependence to time. It was very short. It elapsed. The Kremlin-White House "hot line" did not yet exist. According to the testimony of A. F. Dobrynin, the embassy cipher communications were transmitted through the Western Union Telegraph Company. As our former ambassador in the United States said, a staff member of "Western"—a negro on a bicycle—came after them. By the will of fate, I had the occasion to play the role of the "negro on a bicycle." On 26 October I was suddenly sent to the Kremlin to the reception room of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev. The reception room was packed with full with marshals and generals. There were only two civilians among them—I and the then director of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, M. Kharlamov. We were told that, as soon as Khrushchev's message to Kennedy will be ready, we will take its texts to our departments "for urgent transmission."

As long as I am alive, I will never forget those hours of expectation. All of us felt, if we did not understand, that we are two steps from Fate. The door to Khrushchev's office was open. The minister of defense, Rodion Malinovsky, with a pointer in his hand and moving it across the map, explained something to the members of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium. It was basically Khrushchev who put the questions. At times they they called one or the other marshal or general from the reception room into the office. Apparently for expert advice.

N. S. Khrushchev was outwardly absolutely calm. He formulated the questions precisely. Contrary to his habit, he gesticulated sparingly. It was no accident that I talked about this at the symposium. In his study "The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited," published in the journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the professors of the Center for Scientific and International Research at Harvard University, James Blight, Joseph Nye, and David Welch—incidentally, all of them took part in the symposium—cited the statements of the then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, General Taylor, about the fact that in Washington, in the course of the debates—how to act?—there were calculations of the "probability" that Khrushchev might conduct himself "irrationally."

The exchange of messages between Khrushchev and Kennedy pulled the fuse out of the explosive mechanism in the Caribbean. Both statesmen manifested wisdom. Realism prevailed over ambitions. Responsibility prevailed over impulsiveness. Having looked into the nuclear abyss, the world recoiled from it.



The wisdom manifested during the days of the crisis by Khrushchev and Kennedy is without question. However, indisputable is also the fact that it was preceded by actions that were far from wise. As one of the participants of the symposium expressed himself: Good is the wisdom—at first to introduce Soviet rockets into Cuba, and then to take them out again; at first to prepare an American invasion of Cuba, and then to give a gentleman's word not to do this!

Both the Soviet and the American participants of the symposium (not all, of course) attempted to justify such "inconsistency" by the lack of knowledge of the real intentions of the sides. We did not intend to inflict a missile strike on the United States; they asserted that they did not want the occupation of Cuba. But the logic of military confrontation is such that it is necessary to calculate all the conceivable variants in response to all inconceivable variants of the opposite side. Moreover, in the situation of absolute secrecy, absolute distrust, absolute lack of knowledge of intentions, and absolute absence of channels of communication, not counting the "negro on the bicycle," radio and the newspapers.

In his message to the participants of the symposium, M. S. Gorbachev undoubtedly had in mind this situation, when he underscored that the content and the course of the Caribbean crisis are closely tied to the international situation that existed at the beginning of the 1960's and to the atmosphere of the Cold War. "Nevertheless," he continued, "the study of the mechanisms of the origins of crisis situations of that sort, as well as ways of their political and diplomatic regulation does not lose urgency, especially in conditions where the new political thinking finds its broadest response and practical application in peaceful affairs."

Listening to the participants of the symposium, who reconstructed the dramatic events of October 1962, I involuntarily had to think: How far we have departed from them, although we are separated from them, not by an eternity, but only 26 years. The point is not, and, what is more, not so much that the "negro on the bicycle" has been replaced by the Kremlin-White House "hotline," that in Moscow and Washington centers for the reduction of the nuclear danger have been established, studied with all the marvels of computer and other technology. It goes without saying, all this is extremely important, but much more important is another line—the line of the new political thinking, which proceeds from the reciprocity and universality of security, from the identical interest in survival, which insistently dictates the necessity to know as much as possible about one another, not to steal secrets from each other, to open their cards to each other, as this was done, for example, in the declaration of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Participant States of the Warsaw Pact "On the Correlation of the Number of Armed Forces and Arms of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe and Adjoining Areas of Water."

Literally on the eve of the beginning of the symposium—on the evening of 23 January—a telephone conversation took place between M. S. Gorbachev and the new President of the United States, George Bush. In the official communication on this occasion it was said that "the conversation took place in an atmosphere of goodwill that distinguishes the contacts between the Soviet and American leadership during the recent period. All questions were discussed in a constructive spirit."

I remember this telephone conversation for this reason. With all the imperfection of the technology of the 1960's by comparison with the 1980's, in particular in the sphere of communications, even during the period of the Caribbean crisis it did not present any difficulties—but again technical—to organize a Khrushchev-Kennedy telephone dialogue. But, as is well known, it did not take place. On both ends of the wire there would have been leaders regarding each other as enemies. Behind them they had the only confrontation—in Vienna in 1961, which ended on the high notes of the Cold War. On both ends of the wire of 23 January 1989 there were other leaders, with other international experience and baggage.

#### TRUD Correspondent Counters Defenders of Stalin's Repressions

18300330a Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Yu. Kotlyarov, TRUD correspondent, writing from Kemerovo: "Who Were the 'Enemies of the People'?"]

[Text] People are maliciously writing about the repressions brought down by Stalin on the people and the party. That is not true. Party leaders and other leaders were sent to prison. But the working class was scarcely touched by the repressions!"

(V. Zakharchenko, settlement Peskovka, Borodyanskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast)

Let us be frank: our editorial office receives many letters like this one. In spite of the objective facts that are now being made public, despite the bitter statistics that record how many innocent, ordinary blue-collar workers, kolkhoz members and office workers suffered, the idea of the "selectivity" of the repressions still has a firm hold on some of our fellow citizens. Incidentally, this idea first gained currency under the Stalinist regime, but has turned out to be, as we can see, exceptionally tenacious. The truth is this: the millions of people classified as "enemies of the people" included members of all segments of the population, regardless of their social origin or profession. The millstones of the Stalinist repressions did not spare either workers or scientists or party officials or farmers. Just as they did not spare the loved ones of the people who wrote the following letters.

**First letter:**

**To the commission on rehabilitation of persons unjustly repressed.**

I was born in a large, poor peasant family consisting of my father, my mother and 10 children. All of them are dead. I alone am left.

My father had five brothers... These brother, their large families and several other families went to a private farm and set up a TOZ [tovarichestvo po sovместnoy obrabotke zemli—Partnership for Joint Working of the Land]. Things went well for us. Our material situation improved. The farm was profitable for the state as well. But orders came down from higher up: the partnership was to be disbanded and its members were to join a commune.

The disaster came in 1932. Without any grounds whatsoever, on the basis of anonymous letters, my father and his brothers Vasilii and Afanasiy were arrested and later sent to prison in Barnaul. There confessions were extracted from them under torture. Yet they had nothing to confess to... Completely innocent, they spent over a year in prison. In 1933 my father died, and one year later my mother died as well.

When my father was repressed I was expelled from the Komsomol and the tekhnikum where I was studying. Nor were my older brothers and sisters, who had gone to work on a construction project, left in peace. This went on for years...

A few words about myself. I have worked in a school for 37 years. I have raised three children. I am a communist. I have received six state awards.

I request that my relatives be rehabilitated posthumously.

*(Ye. N. Sokolova, Belovo, Kemerovo Oblast)*

**Second letter:**

Esteemed comrades, I am an old man already: I am 78. I do not want to be buried as an 'enemy of the people.' On the first day of the war I went to the military commissariat and asked to be sent to the front, but I was told that a warrant had been taken out for my arrest. On 30 June I was arrested by NKVD organs of the city of Novokuznetsk (then called Stalinsk) as an enemy of the people.

But my real crime was that I had told an anecdote about Stalin in the presence of a friend.

I was given 10 years and five years deprivation of rights. My wife wrote to Stalin. Then there was a retrial and I was sentenced to be shot. I spent six months on death row, then I was reprieved and my original sentence reinstated. I served every day of it.

A little bit about myself. My father and my grandfather were locomotive engineers, and I followed in their footsteps. There were eight in our family. We were poor. My father joined the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) in 1917 and died in 1926. I went to school through 7th grade and then entered a railroad school, where I received certification as a locomotive repairman. With sponsorship from our city Komsomol I worked on the construction of the Kuznetskiy Metallurgical Combine and also as an engineer. I joined the party in March 1931 and served three years with the border guards.

Help me restore my honorable name before I die. *(F. F. Burnashev, Osinniki, Kemerovo Oblast)*

"These bitter, tragic confessional letters are typical of the mail we get," says Vladislav Nikolay Galkin, chairman of the oblast commission assigned to monitor rehabilitation of individuals unjustly subjected to repression during the period of the Stalinist personality cult and also department chief in the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom. "It has been announced in the local newspapers and over television and radio that our commission would be helped greatly by statements from the actual victims and their relatives. So far various organizations and the mass information media have received approximately 300 letters."

Basically our work has just begun. During the 1956-58 period approximately 11,000 falsely convicted individuals were rehabilitated in the Kuznetsk basin. But not all the victims who were communists were readmitted to the party. Soon review of such cases came to an end, anyway. Now we have approximately 11,000 more cases to review.

Faster review of these cases will be facilitated by the CPSU Central Committee resolution published yesterday under the title "On Additional Measures to Restore Justice With Regard to the Victims of Repressions Which Occurred in the 1930's, 1940's and Early 1950's."

"In order to speed up our work we have gotten highly skilled jurists involved in it," Nikolay Vasilyevich Seleznev, oblast procurator and commission member, said, continuing our conversation. "Now a working group headed by my former assistant V. M. Yuryev is studying court records from those years, decisions by party organs, affidavits and testimony by eyewitnesses, relatives and friends of the people who were repressed. On the basis of the working group's findings the procurator's protests to the oblast court are being prepared; that court will make the final decision. The matter of readmission to the party will be dealt with by the CPSU obkom's party control commission."

Nikolay Vasilyevich shows me the latest protests, which he has just signed.

"In those tragic years the fate of those arrested for political reason was in the overwhelming majority of cases determined not by a court, but rather by the infamous 'troikas.' Many complaints and appeals from convicted individuals, including some addressed to the procurator, were sent back to the same place, to the NKVD Administration, where they were turned down. That was the extent of 'legality.'"

Who were they, the ordinary people who suffered in the years of the pogroms, and what was their crime?

Mikhail Nikiforovich Shaposhnikov, chairman of the oblast court and also a commission member, shoves toward me a stack of thick, faded grey cardboard folders with large black numbers stamped on them. I read one after another at random.

Aleksandr Fedorovich Yurovskiy, born 1909, a faceman at the Zhurinka #3 Mine in the city of Leninsk-Kuznetskiy. On 15 November 1937 an NKVD Administration "troika" from Novosibirsk Oblast sentenced him in case #22061 to 10 years in prison and five years deprivation of rights. On what grounds? "Made sympathetic statements concerning enemy of the people Tukhachevskiy and Zinoviev. Asserted that rights included in the Constitution have not been realized." Condemned as a kulak.

Incidentally, following this principle a tremendous number of the most ordinary (by Siberian standards) middle peasants were also eliminated as kulaks. Yet this "kulak" had served in the Red Army from 1930 to 1934 in a labor battalion and the testimonial of his commanding officers is preserved in his case file: "Regularly overfulfilled his quotas, for which he was commended with monetary rewards and gratitude. Disciplined. Is conducting determined struggle against shirkers to fulfill output and finance plan."

Yet this was an "enemy of the people"?

Then there is the case of Tikhon Stepanovich Roman, born 1883, a Mordvin and member of Natsmen Kolkhoz in Chebulinskiy Rayon, a man of little education. Sentenced to eight years in prison and five years deprivation of rights. His wife was left with three sons and a daughter. What had this working man done? The protocol of his interrogation is only two pages long:

"Said in 1936 at a meeting held during grain procurement that if we sell everything we will have no bread for ourselves and we will have to eat chaff again."

"So you slandered life on the kolkhoz?"

"But I was concerned about poverty, which always keeps the kolkhoz hungry, no matter how hard we work..."

"Did you speak in opposition to the Defense Loan?"

"Yes, I said that the loan is voluntary, and that whoever wanted to should sign up. They cannot force someone to..."

Stop and think about the confessions made in this protocol by a poorly educated farmer who was branded a "counterrevolutionary." Why?

One other amazing but by no means exceptional case: that of Anfusa Aleksandrovna Yeremeyeva, born 1913, not a party member, a teacher at School #16 in the city of Leninsk-Kuznetskiy. She, and I quote, "provided sufficient evidence of the fact that she intentionally failed to prepare herself and did not make lesson plans for the purpose of lowering her students' success rate, thus causing students in her group to have a higher rate of failure. In December 1936 she distributed the fascist swastika among her students via Volkov, a 7th-grade pupil."

Anfusa Aleksandrovna was arrested after being denounced by the school's director, whose administrative methods she had repeatedly opposed at meetings in her capacity as chairman of the local trade union committee. She requested a face-to-face confrontation with Volkov, whom she did not know (she had no student by that name), asked that witnesses be produced, and insisted that her apartment be searched—there they would find all her lessons plans for each day. In vain. All that was needed for the "troika" to sentence her to eight years in prison and five years loss of rights were two pages of slander signed by the director.

In December 1939 A. A. Yeremeyeva wrote a complaint to the oblast procurator from a camp in the Orlovo-Rozovskiy Division of the Siberian Camp System, denying the slander and pointing out that she had signed the protocol of her interrogation "as a consequence of the application of force: read 'under torture.'"

Once again, her complaint was read not by an investigator from the procuracy, but instead from the NKVD. The complainer was interrogated again, and that was all. As for the director, this note was attached to the case file: "Former partial secondary school director K. I. Khvostov was removed (yes, that is what it says: 'was removed') by NKVD organs on 30 October 1937" (one month after the arrest of A. A. Yeremeyeva). It turns out that he was shot along with 50 other people... This truly insatiable Moloch ground up both victims and executioners, one after another.

No response was made to the hapless teacher's complaint. Only now is her good name being restored...



People's lives were destroyed, families crushed. People were expelled from the party and the Komsomol, fired from their jobs... Human spirits were crippled while denunciation was elevated to the rank of revolutionary vigilance...

What was this? A struggle against their own people, or rather against that segment of them which dared to have an opinion: those who believed in the party, the revolution and socialism, who cast doubts on or condemned improper methods of construction, violence and terror?

For the sake of our future nothing should be forgotten. Nor should anyone be forgotten. Toward this end oblast and kray rehabilitation commissions are working diligently to restore the good names of every innocent, honest Soviet citizen who suffered, whether that person was a sentry or a marshal, a non-party miner or a raykom secretary...

**Georgian Woman Recounts Atrocities, Persecution of 1920's-1951**  
18130040

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 46, 11 November 1988 carries on pages 13-14 under the title "Several Episodes of a Bloody Time" a 4700-word article by Mzia Bakradze and Bela Tsveradze, recounting the story of a woman whose life from age 7 was an unending tragedy of terror, persecution, privation, imprisonment, torture, and deportation because of her father's involvement in the anti-Soviet resistance of 1921-1924. The article is the first installment of a series intended to tell the story of two families who suffered similar fates.

In their introduction, the compilers of this piece approve the beneficial effect of glasnost, which has resulted in revelations of the atrocities of the 1930s, World War Two, and the postwar period to 1951. Large numbers of Georgians were arrested, deported, and executed; surviving POWs were denounced and deported; whole families returning from emigration in 1947 suffered the same fate; and so on. But they state that it started much earlier—in the 1921-1924 period of Georgian rebellion against Soviet rule, which served as a kind of "overture" to the terror of the 1930s. Glasnost has finally shed light on the 1918-1921 period; now it's 1921-1924's turn. Every schoolchild learns the names of Wrangel, Denikin, and Kolchak—enemies of the people during the Civil War—and Vlasov in World War Two. In the case of Georgians who fought the new regime, the compilers state, it is wrong to call them bandits, for they did have their creed—an independent Georgia. Great numbers of them died in the fighting, were executed, or went into exile. But the bloody reprisals that followed were visited also upon their families, relatives, mere providers of aid or innocent bystanders. Whole villages were wiped out. Remnants of the nobility were wiped out. Not only men but women and children were terrorized, imprisoned and deported, or executed.

This installment, recounted by Tsitsna Cholokashvili, deals with her ordeals from the age of 7 (in 1923) until 1945. She, her mother, and 3-year-old sister were jailed, interrogated, and threatened with death unless they turned their father/husband in. A great many details are given of wholesale arrests, crowded jails, police/Cheka-/Chon procedures, and the like. Incarcerated mothers with children went hungry for days on end; some became separated. A particularly vivid passage describes a blood orgy that took place (in the summer of 1924) at "Politburo" headquarters. The names of the executioners, under the command of one Todria, and many fairly prominent victims are given. It was an all-night affair, and "the streets were red with blood." In Kakhelia, raids on noble families were participated in by Komsomol and militia units, abetted by drunken mobs.

The travails of Tsitsna, her little sister and mother in the years that followed are given in detail: privation, rejection, periodic summons for interrogation, inability to find lodging, schooling and sustenance, etc. Their tainted family name haunted them everywhere. Tsitsna married a Georgian in 1935; he was arrested soon after and exiled to Karelia, where she followed.

Tsitsna was arrested in Tbilisi in 1942, put in jail, and constantly interrogated, tortured, and threatened with death for months on end unless she signed a confession, the points of which are quoted here in Russian: (1) Contacts with foreign spies; (2) Failure to report crimes; (3) Rumor-mongering; and (4) Anti-Soviet agitation. She refused, and in the end was deported to Kazakhstan. That journey was another long nightmare, and her ordeals in exile are described in considerable detail.

**Former Prisoner Details His Experiences in Karlag**

18300305 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Georgiy Valentovich Kadoshnikov: "Karlag: Readers Recommend That We Write a Documentary Story About the Victims of Stalinist Repressions, and Also About the Times and Ourselves"]

[Text] KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA continues to receive numerous letters in which the authors describe the fates of people who have lived through the horrors of Karlag [Karaganda Corrective Labor Camp] and express the hope that this will never be repeated. The following is one such letter.

**Person With an Open Date**

Dear Editor, I have cherishing the hope of publishing (perhaps even at my own expense) a book for my children and grandchildren, in which I will tell about the fate of my generation, a repressed, degraded, and insulted generation. I will tell them about the terrible kingdom of darkness, ignorance, and boorishness. But I am writing to you as a former prisoner at Karlag and a

witness of the Stalinist system of annihilating people. Many people in my generation still remain behind the barbed wire as being eternally branded by the shameful name of "enemies of the people."

It was my lot to spend eight years in hard labor (my personal number was K-655), which were long years of complete discrimination. I was rehabilitated in 1964.

In 1948 I was sentenced to eight years in a corrective labor camp, in accordance with Articles 58 and 84. But some bureaucrat in the NKVD put a red stripe across my record card, which meant that I was an "especially dangerous criminal," and that was enough to have me sent to the Spassk hard labor camp (a department of Karlag). Spassk maintained prisoners serving terms from 15 to 25 years. We prisoners used to call Spassk the camp of death.

**I CERTIFY.** The senior inspectors in the special units were well-trained executioners. They recruited as their assistants former members of the Polizei and executioners from fascist torture cells and "Kapo." As you can see, some of them had experience in recruiting officers who were "unsuitable for line service." I do not deny that perhaps the civilian pseudo-Communists also fed their assistants meat soups, borscht, and milk, and they also ate from the same kettle. But the bulk of the camp prisoners, consisting of workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals, were doomed to die of starvation and harsh treatment. One could frequently hear from the special-unit inspectors (what titles they had!) the mocking words, "We don't need your work. We need your sufferings." And they operated in accordance with that principle. And, incidentally, they had reason for being indignant. They were only small cogs in the machinery of that diabolical machine of Stalinism that had been designed to destroy people bloodlessly and without any crematoriums. They were required to do just one thing: to observe the instruction manuals and instructions strictly, without thinking about anything. They were supposed to carry out orders wordlessly—period! What kind of party did the former jailers at Karlag talk about in Dolinka, that heavenly nook that had created for them by the hands of the Karlag prisoners? Yes, the Leninist party would not have begun to destroy its daughters and sons of the revolution. It would not have done so for anything! That kind of crime could be carried out only by Stalinists who had betrayed the Leninist principles. Shame on them!

**I CERTIFY.** Upon completing their sentences, the prisoners who were still alive were sent as a party into exile. They were not issued internal passports. An official statement served as our internal passport. The persons who had been exiled were required to bring those statements to the komendatura every day and sign in.

I was saved from death by starvation by a psychiatrist from Odessa, Boris Abramovich Kornfeld. Later, he died tragically in the Ekibastuz camp, when followers of

Bendera slashed him to pieces as he slept. Those acts of mass butchery in the camp were encouraged by the camp administrators.

**I CERTIFY.** September 1948. When we had been herded into the Karabas transit point, I was so weak that I was sent to the area for the "goners"—that was the camp jargon for the people who were so exhausted that they would not live long. That area was called the "slabosilovka" [the area for the feeble], and was situated right next to the women's area. When I was at home, among my family, and in school, I had been taught to respect women. When I saw them behind the barbed wire, I was horrified. All my personal adversities and sufferings were pushed into the background. I suffered mentally when I looked at those unfortunate people. I did not want to believe that all those women had been traitors, spies, or enemies of the people. What a tremendous number! "No, it cannot be!" my heart cried out to me. There was another area right nearby—the "mothers' zone"—and I could not look unfeelingly at the infants who had been born in prisons, infants with the pale hollow cheeks, thin little necks, and tiny hands, whom the young women pressed so anxiously and with such painful feelings to their dried-out breasts. Why did all of this exist? Why had it been my fate to see these sufferings by women and children behind the barbed wire? I just could not imagine that cruelty such as this, a cruelty that had been thought out down to the smallest details, could exist in the country of socialism. I could not look at this vandalism with indifference.

In the "slabosilovka" we were issued 10 grams of butter and the same amount of sugar to maintain the emaciated organism. The prisoner acting as doctor—an old person—kept a careful watch to see that those who were under his care immediately ate the sugar and the butter, and in absolutely no instances took it back to the barracks. But nevertheless I would manage to hide those calories and take them to the unfortunate mothers. I looked terrible. Six months of solitary confinement and several weeks of travel through the various transit stations had done their deed. At my age of 24 years I looked like a feeble old man. I would walk up to the barbed wire and push through my hand with my presents for them—the source of life for the infants. The young mothers would be embarrassed. They would shy away from me, and would look sympathetically at my bare skull, my deeply sunken eyes, and my arms that were as thin as rails. They would look pityingly at me and refuse to accept my gifts. "Take them, take them!" I would mumble. "Not for yourself, but for your baby." I would be practically in tears as I tried to get them to take them. And when one of the women, in embarrassment, would accept my presents, I would be infinitely happy and grateful to that woman whom I did not know, but who had taken advantage of my small bit of help. She would give me a chance to feel that I was a man, a person who still could be helpful if only in some small way. At moments like that, I felt that I was a real person. A person with a goal in life.

**I CERTIFY.** The years 1948-1949. "The pit." The Spassk hard-labor camp was located in a tremendous pit: at one time the copper-smelting plant of a certain English entrepreneur had been there. All the structures that were there had been turned into barracks for the prisoners. The camp was multinational—there were Germans, Hungarians, Romanians, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, West Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Russians, and Kazakhs. The prisoners were clothed in captured fascist uniforms and had numbers sewn onto the back, chest, and sleeve, and on the prisoner's cap and left trouser leg.

The prisoners were actually fed strictly in accordance with the standards, in such a way that the person would slowly die from emaciation. Everything was diabolically precise and was calculated down to the smallest gram. Death from dystrophy, dysentery, tuberculosis, and jaundice mowed people down mercilessly. Every day two Studebakers would drive out, loaded to the top with corpses. The specially assigned crew could not keep up with the grave-digging.

Autumn 1948. The prisoners worked inside the camp breaking rock—manually splitting rocks. The only tools that the prisoner had were a pick ax, a crowbar, a sledge hammer, and wedges. The camp administrators attempts to annihilate the prisoners by starving them and forcing them to perform labor that was beyond their strength. The repeat-offender thieves (they were called the "blatnoys"), the former members of the *Polizei*, and the "Kapo" of the fascist concentration camps were the scourge of God for the worker crews. All these thugs would boss the workers around and mock them in any way that they wanted, and in exchange they received double additional rations. Then nothing would be left for the workers. The fascist monsters with sticks in their hands would herd absolutely all the prisoners into the stone quarry. Legless cripples who could move around only on wheeled carts, people with only one arm, blind people, and people suffering from dystrophy were forced to carry rocks out of the quarry and to put them in tremendous racks. Subsequently those rocks were used to erect the high walls around the Spassk hard-labor camp.

When a prisoner, weakened from hunger, was incapable of lifting the rocks, the guards would hurl themselves at him and beat him with sticks, accusing him of faking his disability and of sabotage, and then they would force him to get up and carry a load of rocks that was twice as heavy as the previous load. Those who attempted to intercede for a friend were accused of inciting him and were also beaten with sticks. It would not have meant anything to them to keep the "snake"—that is the name that was given to prisoners doing the work. The camp administrators encouraged the murders and beatings. As a result of these arbitrary beatings, hunger, and debilitating work, the prisoners became completely emaciated and died.

And that is what happened to me. The camp medical commission diagnosed "elementary dystrophy, third degree," but did not release me from work. I was waiting for my fate when, with a name label on my leg, I was taken outside the area. But this time I was lucky. Our crew was taken outside the zone to harvest vegetables—potatoes and carrots. We were not allowed to cook the potatoes, and we would eat them raw. After two months we became relatively better. After the harvesting operations were completed, our crew was transferred to the building of a dike. Winter had come, and with it the prisoners' meanest enemy—the cold. From day to day, without any days off, we used pick axes and crowbars to break up the frozen earth, and carried it in wheel barrows to the dike, where it was tamped down by wooden logs.

Our barracks was issued ten kilograms of coal for a week—it was as much as a post box. From that heat, the walls would sweat and then become covered with frost. The hungry and poorly clothed prisoners could never get warm in barracks like that—they became sick and the death rate would go up. Then 1949 came. The prisoners celebrated the new year by clearing the snowdrifts from the roads. They would come back to the barracks late at night, numb, exhausted, and completely starved, and would fall into bed. The new year was not for us. We did not get any good wishes or any friendly smiles. The only thing that could be heard on the other side of the barracks walls was the frenzied barking of the dogs and the sentry man's shout, "Stop! Who goes there!"

The days went by, and I got weaker and weaker. My toes froze at work, but I was not relieved from working. Hunger stayed with me, day and night. That was the most sophisticated torture. Every night I was tortured by nightmares. I would dream about big loaves of freshly baked bread and about pies. My mother and grandmother would keep bustling around, trying to feed me all kinds of food until I could eat no more. But something would always hinder me: either I could not get into the dining room where the table was covered to the breaking point with all kinds of food, or I would keep finding myself in some kind of labyrinth of small rooms from which I just could not escape, and my time was running out. I would hurry along and then wake up suddenly. I would toss and turn for a long time on my wooden bunk, prevented by torturous hunger from falling asleep again. I would listen to the prisoners as they grunted and groaned in their sleep.

Having reached the point of desperation, in exchange for a ration of bread I sold my government-issued underwear to the barracks orderly. I had not even had enough time to finish eating a piece when the barracks leader (a former "Kapo" in a fascist concentration camp) came in. "Okay," he said, "unbutton your shirt!" Through the unbuttoned collar of my shirt, he could see my naked, emaciated body. "Okay, then, you've sold everything, you damned fascist!" the barracks leader shouted. "Follow me!"



In the leader's small corner room, a well-filled stove was burning furiously, and the room was warm and comfortable. The chief was bursting from arrogance, and was all puffed up from the sense of his own importance and the power that had been given to him by the camp administrators. A loathsome arrogant smile did not leave his well-fed face. He sat down on the neatly made cot that was his pride. He had everything—a mattress, a blanket, a pillow, and sheets. But we slept on the naked planks of the bunks, covering ourselves with torn pea-jackets. The warm room, the conveniences, and the power that he had over others who, like him, were prisoners, made him a superman.

"Who did you sell your underwear to?" he asked me slowly. I did not want to betray the orderly. He was fidgeting right there, next to the barracks leader.

"I don't know. Everyone looks the same," I answered.

"Call the supervisor," the leader told the orderly. "And you," he said, addressing me, "write an explanatory statement."

The supervisor came in.

He read my "explanatory statement" and promised me, "Well, you're going to get five days." Then, looking me over from head to foot, he asked, "Where do you come from?"

I answered him.

"Why are you doing time here?" the supervisor inquired.

"I don't know."

"You weren't working for the Japanese, were you?"

He kept staring at me, trying to figure something out.

"I can cancel the punishment, and I can also create better conditions in general for you. For example, I could release you from work, assign you as orderly, or find some other kind of easier job for you," he said ingratiatingly. The barracks leader, as though he had guessed what the supervisor had in mind, waved his hand at the orderly to leave immediately, and the orderly disappeared through the door in a flash. With a mysterious expression on his face, the supervisor lowered his voice and continued, "We're putting together a group of activists who will work with us, and who come to us. Through him," he said, pointing at the barracks leader, "you will maintain contact with us, and report who has been stating aloud any dissatisfaction with the Soviet authority, who is planning to escape or to cause a riot, etc. But just see that you don't tell anyone a single word about our conversation. This is a state secret. If you tell anyone, you will croak and you'll never see freedom again."

I guessed that it had been the orderly who had pawned me for a bowl of watery soup, just so that he could stay in his cozy spot. As for the barracks leader, he did nothing to conceal what he had been in the fascist concentration camp, and even bragged about his experience with denunciations and torturings, and maintained "good old buddy" relations with the supervisor. And the supervisor, in turn, had no qualms about associating closely with that low-life.

"Your proposal surprises me, citizen chief," I told the supervisor. "Because we are all 'enemies of the people,' traitors, and spies, and I am no exception for you. If I agree to your proposal, things will not improve for me. My sentence won't be reduced, and none of you will change your opinion about me. For you I am a dangerous criminal, and no matter how I try to serve you, the worse I will look in your eyes. Meanness remains meanness everywhere, and I shall not make any deals with my conscience."

"Listen to who's talking about conscience!" the barracks leader said with a titter.

"You used to work for the Japanese, but you refuse to work with us?" the supervisor asked, in a rage. "Do you expect to get any more decorations, because they tell me you got some decorations," he shouted.

This entire situation amused me very much. Every cloud has a silver lining. I had deciphered the simple system of denunciations. I told myself, "Now the joke's on you! You just blew your entire security system!"

"Brigade leader," I told Korolev, "the supervisor slapped five days of solitary on me."

The brigade leader looked at me in surprise.

"Why?"

"Because I 'shoved' my underwear on the orderly, and he and the barracks leader rattled on me to the supervisor."

I spoke loudly, so that the entire crew could hear everything. Then I searched out Mang Varis, a young Latvian. I told him about the orderly and the barracks leader, my talk with the supervisor, and the group of so-called "activists." And I told him to warn his fellow Latvians about stool pigeons.

The next day the leader called me in to see him.

"Have a seat here with me for a while until the supervisor takes you to the cooler," he said. "Don't be mad at me. I wish you only well. After you're in the cooler, nothing will remain of you but skin and bones. You won't go back to the work crew any more. The only place you'll be able to go to is the infirmary. If you don't croak there, but instead you recover, you'll be sent to the 'slabosilovka.' You won't have to go back to your work

groop again, but even though your mind will still be clear, you'll toss and turn in bed for a year or so, and you are well aware that 'a day of tossing and turning is like a year of life.' So you can thank me."

"Well," I said indignantly, "I wouldn't wish this kind of favor on anyone. As for being mad at you, just remember this, barracks leader: people don't get mad at the likes of you. They have too much honor to do that. Have you ever heard the word 'disdain'? And there's something else you can remember: I don't envy you even a single gram of your miserable life, or any of this," I said, pointing to his room. "It won't last forever. At any time they can take all this away from you. Because all this is the price of treachery. What if, all of a sudden, they find someone more efficient than you?"

The supervisor came in and interrupted my dialogue. The barracks leader, all hunched up, jumped toward the supervisor and in a servile, thin little, mean voice, while pointing at me and looking his "boss" straight in the eyes like a devoted lackey, said, "Chief, you better be careful with this guy. I had a talk with the snake. He's been threatening the Soviet authority."

The supervisor frowned, but did not say anything.

I didn't have anything to lose.

"Okay, let's go!" the supervisor grumbled. And so we left...

#### The Cooler

I CERTIFY. The hard-labor prison had been built, following the model of tsarist times, out of stone. It was a gloomy, stinking place with walls a meter thick, with metal flaps and grilles on the tiny windows. An iron-clad door had a peephole and a slot through which food was shoved. Nothing but bunks and the inevitable toilet bucket in the corner. The door slammed behind me with a disagreeable squeak. I looked helplessly all around me, trying in vain to see in the darkness where I would have to spend five days under strict arrest, with 300 grams of bread and water. As soon as my eyes became accustomed to the darkness, I discerned bunks, with the silhouettes of people on them. Delighted that I was not alone in that cell, I moved toward them.

"Where the hell do you think you're going!" a crude voice rang out. I looked around to see the person who possessed that voice—he was a big bruiser wearing a short-sleeved striped shirt, and I involuntarily admired his well-fed muscular body, which was such a wonderful thing to see. To be such a healthy specimen in the "camp of death"! Lying next to him was a crutch. "He's a cripple," I told myself, but when I saw his low forehead and his evil face, my sentimentality flew away from me in an instant. These vicious, tattooed creatures are the bosses here. I made an attempt to sit down on one of the bunks.

"Get the hell away from here!" the one-legged man shouted, grabbing at his crutch.

"What's the matter? Don't you have enough room?" I snapped.

A strong kick knocked me off my feet, and as I was floundering around on the cement floor, trying to get back on my feet as quickly as possible so that they would not break my ribs, the entire group of four healthy, by no means emaciated "blatnoys" started beating me up. They were the local "aristocracy," the privileged "zeks" [prisoners]. The blows came in from all sides, with the one-legged man beating at me repeatedly with his crutch. "Crawl under the bunk, you walking piece of scum!" he shouted. It was useless to put up any further resistance, and in order to keep my bones intact, I silently crawled under the bunk, where I bumped against someone's legs. I groped around and I found that the place was crowded with people. They squeezed together and freed a space for me.

A cold draft came in from under the door. The small waste bucket was suitable only for a solitary-confinement cell, and it was filled to the brim. All the contents flowed under the bunks toward us. We lay there in that stinking liquid on the cement floor, trying to warm one another by crowding our emaciated bodies together.

On the bunks above us, the "blatnoys" reigned. They distributed the rations, leaving the lion's share for themselves. Who could we complain to? In five days I was freed. The fresh frosty air intoxicated me. Hunched over, I began rushing to my barracks, but I had not taken three steps before my heart froze, my ears began ringing, and everything around me began spinning. The blue sky, the barracks, the ground began to go out from under my feet, and I fell down onto the snow. I got up with much difficulty, but my barracks was so infinitely far away that I had no assurance at all that I could make my way to it. The infirmary was closer. Falling down every minute, I started going there. When I got there, they put me in Ward 6, for the people who were dying. Yes, the barracks leader who had learned quite a few things in the fascist concentration camps, was well aware of where the road led from the cooler. I had seven more years of hard labor ahead of me...

#### BUT I'M ALIVE. I'M ALIVE!

Time passed. I got myself a family, and my wife and I got higher education for all three children—they became musicians, although it was fiendishly difficult to bring up children by having them study the Short Course of the VKP(b) and simultaneously educate them in a spirit of hatred of ignorance, boorishness, and bureaucracy. But now it seems that all that is behind us... The second date of my life is open now.

*Signed: Kadoshnikov, Georgiy Valentinovich, former Karlag prisoner, 479318, Temirtau, Karaganda Oblast, Prospekt Lenina, 65/3, Apt. 25.*

**Editor's note.** By the publication of G. V. Kadoshnikov's letter we complete the first part of the documentary offered to the readers. Simultaneously we wish to communicate to the authors of the hundreds of letters written in response to the article "Karlag" that each and every one of them will receive our attention and will be used in one way or another when preparing in the new year of 1989 the newspaper materials dealing with victims of the repressions.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA would like to take this opportunity to wish a happy new year to all those who responded to the newspaper's appeal. We wish you dear comrades health and strength. We await new letters.

**Rehabilitation, Rights of Repressed Discussed**  
18300246a Moscow AGITATOR in Russian  
No 22, Nov 88 pp 19-22

[Interview of Major General of Justice Mikhail Alekseyevich Marov, deputy chairman of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, under the rubric "Developing Democracy": "Triumph of Justice—The Process of Rehabilitation of Citizens and Its Legal Significance"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] As we know a commission, created by the CC Politburo in accordance with the decisions of the October (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is working in the country on a comprehensive examination of new and previously known cases and documents. On the basis of the commission's results, the USSR Supreme Soviet is examining dossiers on judicial rehabilitation of defamed and convicted innocent citizens.

Responding to readers' wishes, we turned to Major General of Justice Mikhail Alekseyevich Marov, deputy chairman of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, with a request to answer a number of questions connected with the rehabilitation of victims of the personality cult.

[Question] Would it be possible to speak more concretely about the Commission's cooperation with justice organs?

[Marov] We should keep in mind that judicial functions relating to the rehabilitation of repressed persons have not been imposed on the Politburo's Commission. And it would be wrong to think that the commission pronounces judgment on the court's rehabilitation. On finding materials relating to repressions, the Commission of the CPSU CC Politburo instructs the USSR Procuracy, the country's Supreme Court and other competent organs to carry out a thorough and comprehensive examination relating to the case and to adopt necessary measures for restoration of justice.

Law-enforcement organs participating in the study of criminal cases connected with mass repressions are conducting their work in strict conformity with the requirements of the law. Their work is constantly under the scrutiny of the CPSU CC Politburo Commission, but at the same time, "pressure" or "constraint" is completely excluded. The rehabilitation of unjustifiably convicted persons, more precisely repressed persons, is carried out by judicial organs, since in accordance with the USSR Constitution no one can be considered guilty in the commission of a crime as well as made subject to criminal punishment other than by a sentence of the court and in accordance with the law.

During the period of Stalin's personality cult, mass repressions were carried out of prominent persons of the party and the Soviet state, and rank-and file citizens not only by judicial organs but also by nonjudicial means. This "machine of lawlessness" was made up of so-called "troikas" and "Special Conferences" under the OGPU Collegium or under the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. They were given the right in defiance of the Fundamental Law to deprive citizens of their liberty, to exile them to remote regions of the country and to confine them to corrective labor camps and prisons.

In the process of studying the materials connected with repressions, we discovered many cases where one and the same person was repeatedly subjected to punishments for the same acts unjustifiably imputed as a crime. Specifically, Sergey Vitalyevich Mrachkovskiy, a member of the Communist Party since 1905, convicted in the case of the so-called "United Trotskyist-Zinovyev Center," was internally exiled to remote regions for 3 years by a resolution of 13 January 1928 of the Special Conference attached to the OGPU Collegium. After some time, a resolution of 12 July 1929 of the Special Conference attached to the OGPU Collegium changed his internal exile to imprisonment for 3 years. Subsequently a resolution of 23 August of the Special Conference attached to the OGPU Collegium once more changed his imprisonment to internal exile. On 26 March 1935 the Special Conference attached to the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs committed him to a special-duties concentration camp for 5 years. On 24 August 1936, S.V. Mrachkovskiy was sentenced by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court to be shot with confiscation of his property for "counterrevolutionary activities."

All the resolutions of the "Special Conferences," imposed nonjudicially in regard to S.V. Mrachkovskiy were rescinded on 9 June 1988 by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court. A resolution of 13 June of the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court rescinded the 1936 sentence of the Military Collegium in regard to S.V. Mrachkovskiy and the case was terminated because of the absence of elements constituting a crime, and he was completely rehabilitated. The same fate overtook V.A.



Ter-Vaganyan, a member of the Communist Party since 1912, I.N. Smirnov, a member of the Communist Party since 1898 and many others.

M.S. Gorbachev validated the need of creating the CPSU CC Politburo Commission for the study of additional materials connected with the repressions occurring during the '30s-'40s and the beginning of the '50s in the address "October and Perestroika: The Revolution Continues." He said in particular that up to now time attempts are still being met with to turn away from major questions of our history, to remain silent about them and to present the appearance that nothing particularly unusual happened. We cannot agree with this. This would be disregard of historical truth and disrespect of the memory of those who were innocent victims of lawlessness and despotism. We also cannot do so because truthful analysis is bound to help us to solve today's problems: democratization, glasnost, overcoming of bureaucratism—in a word, the current problems of perestroika.

[Question] In the editorial mail, a number of letters deal with questions of restoration of historical justice in regard to persons who were repressed. "We see in this," reader P. Ryabets writes, "the triumph of justice and glasnost." At the same time, readers raise questions of another level. "Enemies of the people were tried publicly," A. Akimov writes. "They had the possibility of declaring their innocence. Some did this. Others did not. Why then should all of them be cleared? Can one believe in the rightness of rescinding all sentences without exception? Where are the proofs?"

[Marov] I must say that differences of opinion relative to those measures which are being undertaken for the rehabilitation of unjustifiably repressed persons are quite understandable and explainable. For many years we believed in what we read, heard and in what we learned at school and in VUZ's. In archives and libraries, shorthand reports of congresses and plenums at which "enemies of the people" were held up to shame have been preserved up to the present time. This like the alphabet became part of our body and blood. We considered it to be the truth and blindly believed it. Actually, we were being deceived through reliance on falsified materials of the criminal cases.

The question arises: what about grateful (*priznatelyye*) testimonies at the preliminary investigation and at the court session? How can one not believe them? Yes, there were such "admissions." But how they were obtained one can specifically judge on the basis of the case of the so-called "Parallel Trotskyist Center" in regard to Yu.L. Pyatakov and others (all told 17 persons) convicted on 30 January 1937 by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court under Ulrikh's chairmanship.

As established by verification, the preliminary investigation and court examination of the case were carried out with the grossest violations of criminal procedural law.

Yu.L. Pyatakov, G.Ya. Sokolnikov, K.B. Radek, A.Ya. Livshits, N.Ya. Drobniis, S.A. Rataychak, A.A. Shestov and others were arrested without any sort of grounds. Despite the fact that they categorically denied their guilt of espionage, wrecking, sabotage and terrorist activities, they were kept for a long time under custody without presentation of charges and without extension of time of maintenance under custody.

NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] personnel managed to get "grateful" testimonies from those arrested by the use of illegal methods of coercion: persuasion, threats, mental and physical violence. Night-time exhausting interrogations and force, which were intended to physically wear out the prisoners, were employed. Frinovskiy, the former deputy people's commissar of NKVD, on being interrogated in regard to this and other things, testified: "The persons conducting the interrogation of prisoners in regard to the case of Yu.L. Pyatakov and others were unacquainted with the materials of the case. They were sent to Lefortovo Prison where they were present at beatings of the prisoner. The beatings continued until the suspect agreed to provide testimony."

During the process of a court session, an NKVD investigator was attached to each defendant who was responsible for having the person he had investigated prisoner confirm his grateful testimony given at the preliminary investigation. Otherwise, the court declared an intermission for proper "working" on the defendant by the NKVD investigator, after which the court, if it could be called that, continued.

A.Ya. Vyshinskiy, appearing at the court trial as the state prosecutor, asserted: "The indictment of Yu.L. Pyatakov and other defendants for counterrevolutionary activity... is fully substantiated and is proven documentarily, and by this indictment the criminals seated here are doomed to eternal disgrace and to eternal damnation by honest workers and the honest people of our country and the whole world." At the same time, this assertion of the prosecutor was unfounded. It was not buttressed by any proofs of guilt of the defendants. The court did not implement measures to objectively acquire a good understanding of the case which was prepared by investigatory organs. The accused were presented to the court as admittedly guilty. It was only necessary to legalize their guilt with a verdict, which was done.

Such was the harsh truth. To speak of it means to believe in the triumph of justice and glasnost and in that such a thing must not be repeated.

[Question] What does the statement of rescinding sentences on the basis of newly opened circumstances in connection with the absence of elements constituting a crime mean?

[Marov] In accordance with law of criminal procedure (Article 384 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure) and pertinent articles of the criminal-procedure codes of the union republics that have acquired the force of law, the verdict, determination and order of a court can be abrogated on the basis of newly disclosed circumstances.

Newly disclosed (new) circumstances are considered to be those that remained unknown during a case's investigation and court examination but attest to the illegality or groundlessness of the verdict, determination or order.

Thus the grounds for rescinding a sentence, determination and order and reviving a criminal case on the basis of newly disclosed circumstances are:

- undoubted falsity of the testimony of the witness or conclusions of an expert and the equally false nature of material proofs and reports of an investigation and court actions or other documents, the deliberate falsity of the translation entailing the enactment of a groundless and illegal sentence;
- criminal abuses of persons carrying out the investigation or of judges permitting them in examination of the given case;
- other circumstances unknown to the court in the passing of a sentence or decision which by themselves together with the circumstances established earlier prove the innocence of the convicted person or his commission of a less severe or more severe crime than that for which he was convicted and equally prove the innocence of the acquitted person or the person with respect to whom the case was terminated.

The court in examining a case on the basis of newly discovered circumstances does not have the right to directly change the sentence, decision or order. It can only nullify the court decision or reject the conclusion of the prosecuting attorney.

The statement—"rescinding of the sentence on the basis of discovered circumstances in connection with lack of elements constituting a crime"—means that the case has been terminated by the court and the person in regard to whom the sentence has been rescinded on the basis of the indicated grounds has been rehabilitated.

[Question] How accurate is the legal statement "the sentence has been rescinded" when it pertains to people who were shot?

[Marov] Rehabilitation, which means the returning of an honest name and the triumph of justice, is of inestimable value. We receive thousands of letters where relatives, close friends or colleagues and associates turn to judicial organs with the request to review cases, including those relating to persons sentenced to be shot.

We need to remember that during the period of repressions actually the entire family suffered, including children, relatives and acquaintances of the prisoner. This also was a serious violation of the law permitted in the past. Consequently rehabilitation means the return of a good name not only to those who are no longer among the living but also to those who suffered from unwarranted repressions and the restoration of violated rights. I believe that returning the good name to a citizen or blessed memory concerning him to his family, close relatives and friends is not only of great political but also of moral value.

The statement "the sentence to be rescinded and the case work to be terminated for lack of elements constituting a crime" corresponds to the requirements of criminal procedural law.

[Question] We know that a whole series of repressions was carried out on the basis of statements of informers who for sordid purposes ruined acquaintances, neighbors and comrades at work. I think that those who are engaged in rehabilitation get to know the names of informers and liars. What measures are being taken in regard to these people? Is their participation in defamation becoming the property of the public? If not, why not?

[Marov] In the process of preparing cases for review, we discovered many instances where not only prominent persons of the party and the Soviet state, well-known scientist and even rank-and-file citizens were arrested and then repressed as a result of slander. Moreover, slanderous denunciations were drawn up and sent to NKVD and OGPU organs not only on the initiative of the actual slanderers striving to "clear the way" of undesirables but also on the basis of actions planned in advance by NKVD organs for the purpose of reporting to their supervisors on the liquidation of the next group or organization of "conspirators," "saboteurs," "terrorists," "counterrevolutionaries" and so forth.

On the discovery of such persons, preliminary investigating organs and other competent organs implement measures in necessary cases for initiation of criminal cases and making them accountable.

Following the receipt of slanderous denunciations, as has already been pointed out above, the criminal cases were falsified. Furthermore, for the purpose of ensuring "reliability" of the materials of the criminal cases, NKVD organs resorted to various methods and devices without disdaining anything.

The case of Yu.L. Pyatakov et al. can serve in addition as a characteristic example in this regard. For its falsification, NKVD investigators Postanogov, Popov, Pogodayev, Dymnov and others actively used a certain Frankontel, who was arrested earlier (in 1936) for participating in a Trotskyite organization. He was placed in the cells of Muralov, Drobnis, Boguslavskiy and other

prisoners with whom he engaged in appropriate work. As Korpulev, a former NKVD investigator, showed, Frankontel was used for the creation of provocative acts. Specifically, in his confrontations he "convinced" interrogated persons to sign the interrogation report as it "was so necessary for the Soviet government" at the time.

In the investigation isolator, a number of privileges were created for Frankontel. His cell was equipped with soft furniture where arrested prominent Soviet and party personnel were placed who denied their participation in anti-Soviet activities. After being properly worked on, they confessed and wrote their own depositions. Thus Frankontel was responsible for putting through more than 100 prisoners for various cases. Here is how Frankontel himself boasted: "I was given the most stubborn ones, yet I carried out almost all the assignments of NKVD investigators. In addition, they would place in my cell a person the day before his trial, and I had to prepare him in such a way that he confirmed in court his previously given deposition."

Investigators of the USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, participating directly in the investigation of the cases of Yu.L. Pyatakov and others, as well as their secret collaborator Frankontel were subsequently made criminally liable and convicted.

The well-known case of the Kremlin physicians, allegedly poisoning M. Gorkiy and V. Kuybyshev, was also born out of a calumniating denunciation. Information about it has repeatedly appeared in the press.

Thus the actions of persons directly participating in the fabrication of criminal cases or cooperating in this in various ways, including slanderous denunciations, as well as the measures taken by law enforcement organs in regard to them, are becoming the property of the public through mass information organs.

At the same time, it should be said that there were also honest people fighting the despotism and lawlessness.

[Question] Sometimes the impression arises, reader N. Kalugin shares his doubts, that taking advantage of the moment, many of those convicted in the past may today achieve rehabilitation. In order to dispel such doubts, I would like to know what criteria have been established as a basis for rehabilitation and whether there are cases where it was refused to someone.

[Marov] First of all, the impression of so-called "universal" rehabilitation is erroneous.

Each request reaching judicial organs relating to rehabilitation is checked thoroughly and carefully. For this, criminal cases as well as court and extrajudicial decisions are secured on demand. All the materials are studied,

and appropriate measures are taken on the basis of the results. In necessary cases, additional examinations are conducted which are entrusted to competent organs.

In cases where facts have been established of violation of the principles of socialist legality or a presented charge is not confirmed in the case materials, and if it is based on doubtful proofs, all the measures provided by law are taken for restoration of justice and rehabilitation of those who have innocently suffered.

At the same time, the work practice of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court attests to the fact that not all complaints and petitions for case reviews are satisfied. Specifically, persons convicted in the years of the Great Patriotic War apply to us with a request for rehabilitation for criminal activity: betrayal of the Motherland, espionage and the like. Many of them have served their sentences (completely or partially). Some of them after this continued to fight and were awarded orders and medals. But if it is established that their guilt in the commission of a crime was proved and they were validly convicted, then such persons are refused satisfaction of their petition for rehabilitation.

For example, in June 1987, Citizen V.V. Tsovko applied to the USSR Supreme Court with a request for rehabilitation. An examination of the materials of the criminal case established that he was validly convicted for betrayal of the Motherland. In 1943, he voluntarily entered the service of the Germans as a policeman and, possessing arms, took an active part in punitive operations against Soviet citizens. His denial of these circumstances was refuted by the testimony of a large number (more than 20 persons) of witnesses. In connection with what has been described in review of the case, Tsovko's rehabilitation was refused.

Many such examples could be cited where judicial organs have refused rehabilitation. It is important that in each concrete case the reasons presented in the complaints are thoroughly and comprehensively checked out and measures provided by the law for restoration of justice are taken.

Thus, one criterion has been established as a basis for rehabilitation—strict observance of legality in the study of cases and reaching of decisions.

[Question] What rights come into play for citizens and their families when the time of rehabilitation of innocently repressed persons arrives?

[Marov] In such a case, all the rights and freedoms provided by the USSR Constitution are returned to the citizen and the conviction is expunged. Persons who were subjected to internal exile or deportation have the right to select any region of the country for residence. Measures are adopted for compensation of the family of a repressed person in determined measure of the damage



caused by the illegal actions as well as the return to them of confiscated property or its cost. Other problems connected with securing housing, grants, pensions and so forth can also be resolved.

At the same time, much depends on local government organs and labor collectives. Timely notification of institutions and organizations where the illegally repressed persons worked concerning their rehabilitation and the creation around them and their families of an attentive and benevolent atmosphere are of great importance.

In necessary cases, appropriate organs must look after perpetuation of the memory of innocent victims. It should be noted that the CPSU CC Politburo, meeting halfway the wishes of workers expressed by delegates of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, adopted a decision on construction in Moscow of a memorial to victims of repressions and unlawful actions.

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#### **Formerly Repressed Officials, Others Reinstated Into BSSR CP**

18000345a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro Commission for Additional Study of Materials Connected with Repressions That Occurred in the Period of the 1930's - 1940's and the Beginning of the 1950's"]

[Text] A session of the Commission, held under the chairmanship of Belorussian CP Central Committee Secretary N.I. Dementey, has heard a report by the chairman of the Belorussian CP Central Committee's Party Control Commission, V.T. Golovan, about work with regard to reinstatement of formerly repressed citizens into the party. At the present time, 56 cases are under examination. This work is being carried out in close conjunction with party committees, party veterans, administrative organs, scholars the general public, and relatives of those who perished.

The republic's procurator, G.S. Tarnavskiy, reported on the review of criminal cases and the rehabilitation of citizens called to criminal account for political motives. It was noted that the review of criminal cases and the rehabilitation of repressed citizens has been going on from 1955 up until the present time. In the current year, work on reviewing criminal cases involving persons repressed during the period of the cult of personality has become considerably more active. During 9 months of this year alone, the republic procuracy has studied and lodged protests calling for the reversal and cancellation of 143 criminal cases involving 411 persons. All the objections have been approved by the courts and undeserved charges have accordingly been removed from an additional 411 persons. Among them are D.F. Prishchepov, the former Peoples Commissar for Agriculture; A.V. Balitskiy, former Peoples Commissar for Education; A.F. Adamovich, former chief of the press department of the Belorussian Communist Party (bolshevik) [KP(b)] Central Committee, who later worked as deputy BSSR Peoples Commissar for Agriculture; P.V. Ilyuchenko, former deputy chief of the State Publishing House; a large group of literary workers, 19 middle peasants, and many others.

At the present time, the republic procuracy has lodged objections to the BSSR Supreme Court calling for the cessation of criminal cases and rehabilitation of the former chairman of the Slutsk city executive committee, A.N. Shklyar; the former first secretary of the Lyubanskiy Rayon KP(b) committee, P. T. Kardash; the former chairman of the Lyubanskiy Rayon executive committee, P.I. Strikov; kolkhoz workers F.N. Tratsyevskiy, I.S. Kurochkin, A.P. Kuzavok, and others.

Work on verification and reexamination of criminal cases is being carried out independently of whether there are applications and complaints from citizens; reexamination is being made of all cases involving persons called to account in the 1930's - 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's based on accusations of having committed crimes classified by the legislation of that period as counter-revolutionary.

Other questions stemming from the Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro decree of 11 November of this year were also examined at the meeting of the Commission. Taking part in the discussion of these questions were comrades V.G. Baluyev, V.I. Boris, V.G. Yevtukh, V.A. Pechennikov, V.A. Mikulich, V.S. Karavay, A. Ye. Andreyev, and R.P. Platonov.

## Religious Officials on Events of 1988, Goals for 1989

### Patriarch Pimen Interviewed

18000513 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen by a TASS correspondent: "Interview With Patriarch Pimen"]

[Text] On New Year's Eve, His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen gave a TASS correspondent an interview.

"The past year has been notable for many important events which have had an effect upon our country, our lives, and all mankind," observed Patriarch Pimen. "The international situation markedly improved, and the new thinking in politics and diplomacy won wider and more assured acceptance. Among the most impressive examples of what happened, I should like to mention the speech of M. S. Gorbachev, which demonstrated from the lofty rostrum of the United Nations a model of restructuring of foreign policy in practice.

"It is as if in the past year, by relying on the processes of glasnost and democratization, our country had acquired a new inspiration. We sense this single-minded spirit of creation in economics and politics, in morality, in science and cultural affairs. Demands have increased to purify the moral atmosphere of society, and spiritual life is becoming deeper and more diverse.

"In this beneficent process we find an affinity with our ideals in the Gospel. As religious people, we note particularly the high place assigned morality in the new system of orientation, and the fact that man, at the center of the renewal process, is affirmed as a socially active person, receptive to the apprehension and creation of great spiritual values.

"Together with secular considerations we are imbued with a profound concern for the emerging mood and spirit of society. Our active Christian spirit prompts us to help each individual 'seek that which serves peace and mutual edification.'

"As we reflect upon last year, it is profoundly satisfying to witness the fact that the process characteristic of restructuring is exerting a positive influence upon the life of the church.

"Many of the issues and problems discussed at a meeting of the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church with M.S. Gorbachev in April of the year that is reaching an end have been satisfactorily resolved. Suffice it to say that in 1988 the size of the Russian Orthodox Church community increased by more than 700 persons.

"The year that we are saying farewell to was the year of the great jubilee of our holy church, marking a millennium of Christianity in Rus, the celebration of which encompassed it in its entirety. The celebration went far beyond the bounds of our church. Broad sections of the public in our country took part in the celebration. Great interest in it was shown in cultural circles throughout the world. Many churches and religious associations in other countries as well as in the USSR observed the celebration as their own.

"Throughout the centuries the children of the Russian Orthodox Church have lived side by side with followers of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam. All of these religions, through the closeness of their ethical beliefs, join the efforts of their followers together in a joint effort for the good of the Soviet people. All believers among us therefore have one set of patriotic goals.

"Each person now dreams of the good of his own people, but this is possible only by achieving the common good. Of course, the highest moral ideal requires that we love all people as ourselves. We should love the person, and we should love people of every nationality.

"In the light of this ideal," Patriarch Pimen continued, "we react to the intolerable events that have taken place in the Caucasus with especially bitter remorse. But we believe that our dear brothers and sisters—the citizens of Armenia and Azerbaijan—will apply all their good will and energies to the restoration of proper relations as good neighbors. Undoubtedly, the opportunity to do so is strengthened by the shared pain that gripped the hearts of all Soviet peoples when the tragedy shook the earth of ancient Armenia. This misfortune has brought to light a deep sense of community among our peoples.

"In the year that lies ahead," Patriarch Pimen revealed, "We will not slacken in our unremitting efforts to protect the sacred gift of life on earth. We will continue to labor diligently for the glory of God and the good of our motherland.

"I wish all our dear compatriots a Happy New Year in 1989. From the heart I wish them strength of body and soul, family happiness and prosperity, together with success in their labors.

"On the occasion of commemorating the birth of Christ, I appeal to all who welcome this joyous event with us. Let us in our love, with the peace of Christ in our hearts, remain steadfast in zealous concern for the church of Christ and the good of our native land.

"I address, too, our fellow countrymen abroad. In sending them Christmas and New Year's greetings, I wish them good health, spiritual advancement, and fond memories of the fatherland."

**Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich Filaret  
Comments**

18000513 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
1 Jan 89 p 4

[Statement by Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich and  
Exarch Patriarch of the Ukraine Filaret: "Our Survey"]

[Text] The principal event of the year for me was undoubtedly the 1,000th Anniversary of Christianity in Russia. The event is important not only for the Russian Orthodox Church but in commemorating the history and culture of all our peoples. I am very pleased that this celebration was observed in virtually all countries of the world. Moreover, the most authoritative international organization in the world, Unesco, joined in observing the celebration.

At the threshold of the jubilee celebration of the Russian Orthodox Church, in my view, a very important event took place—a meeting between Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen, together with the members of the Holy Synod, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. This meeting, I have no hesitation in saying, was a historic one, serving to stimulate further development in the relations between the state and the Orthodox Church.

As an initial result of this meeting for our exarchate, it is possible to cite the transfer to us of a part of the Kiev Cave Monastery.

But this is not all. Truly, 1988 can be called the year of the rebirth of charity, and in this respect the role of the church in the public life of the country has been of considerable importance. A variety of funds are appearing among us that are administered in part by church leaders. We are pleased by this and see in such participation a manifestation of our goals and objectives as well as evidence of the new thinking.

At the close of 1988, we cannot but be mindful of the meetings between M. S. Gorbachev and President Reagan, marking the beginning of genuine disarmament, and the outpouring of hopes by everyone that the world will be spared from nuclear war in the future.

In this life of ours, however, joy is always intertwined with pain and sorrow. And, of course, the wound of this past year that is yet to heal is the tragedy endured by the Armenian people. We grieve together with our brothers. We stand ready to give all the help in our power. More than 800,000 rubles has been sent to assist the earthquake sufferers by the Ukrainian exarchate, and the collection of funds continues.

The new year, 1989, is for us a year of hope. First, as citizens of soviet society, we await the genuine rewards of restructuring. We await positive results which are

moral and spiritual as well as material and economic. Together with the rest of our people we yearn for the well-being of soviet society as a whole.

Speaking of a year of hope, I refer particularly to hopes for the stabilization of relations between church and state.

The restoration of temples and churches continues to be carried out at an extremely slow pace. For us, the residents of Kiev, the matter of restoring the Kiev Cave Monastery and Uspenskiy Cathedral is still a painful one. We have made the proposal to have overall authority for restoring this priceless memorial of church history transferred—for us to be given an opportunity to finance the undertaking.

Thus 1989 is a year of expectations for us. We wait, and we hope, and we believe.

I want to take this opportunity to wish the readers of *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* with all my heart a Happy New Year, health and happiness in life, and peace.

**Reader Cautions Against Viewing Religion as  
Panacea**

18000349a Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA*  
in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 6

[Article by M. Kobrin, Moscow: "Nevertheless We Are Materialists...."]

[Text] I am a staunch materialist. Nonetheless I am sincerely glad for the presently established relations of "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet state and its active forces, on the one hand, and churches of different creeds, on the other. Relations which increasingly more frequently are developing into cooperation with respect to a number of humanitarian problems. I am also glad that, for example, the Bible and the Koran are ceasing to be the source of solely religious dogmas and are joining the ranks of the other treasures of mankind's many-thousand year history and culture. Finally, I am glad that churches and synagogues, mosques, medresses and monasteries, religious paintings and sculpture, losing their exclusively cult significance, are occupying an honored place in the ascending spiral of universal art.

At the same time, I am somewhat concerned. Thus, on 21 October, the newspaper *IZVESTIYA* published the short article "Priest Men Talks with School Children." Archpriest Aleksandr is "a philosopher, candidate of theology and a biologist by education"—this is how the newspaper introduces him.

I am not a lawyer and therefore shall not attempt to judge to what extent the decision of the administration of this state educational institution is in accord with the constitutional principle of separation of church and state



and of school from church to invite a clergyman to a school lecture hall where he, judging by the newspaper's notice, engaged in religious preaching.

One, of course, may agree with the school's director that "the children should learn for themselves... to determine their position in life and their world outlook." Actually, our duty is to help them in this. That means that if we are to conduct such meetings, then in such a form as would allow the pupils to be at least witnesses of a dispute involving the participation of an erudite, well-understanding person in the study of religion who would be open to the thinking of a materialist scholar.

While speaking out quite fairly for freedom of conscience, the mass information media are assuming increasingly more frequently the position of a detached observer. And now the television program "Opinion" has invited an official of the Moscow Eparchy, appearing in this connection in the role of a kind of "television father confessor" for the purpose of answering telephone calls of television viewers. The Leningrad "600 Seconds" Program shows with taste the sumptuous ceremony of a church wedding, while the program called "The Fifth Wheel" attempts to convince us with the aid of an "extra sense" to believe in the "other" world....

Naturally, I could be asked as to what I see that is bad in the dissemination of religious philosophy that preaches as we know in love of one's neighbor, purity of action and other qualities of which we still show a lack.

But I am concerned by the fact that the partisans of moral improvement in familiarization with religion for the most part entirely forget the separating bent of believers. Without going into the history of religious wars, let us at least remember the bloody consequences of the religious quarrels in Northern Ireland and the Near East, in India and Pakistan. Let us recall the attempts of Pamyat Society to launch a campaign in our country against "adherents of different faiths" and to open Sunday schools under churches. Let us recall, finally, the effect of religious ferment on the national turbulence in the Transcaucasus....

The representation of religion as a kind of spiritual panacea is the direct consequence of the crisis condition of our society after decades of shifting from side to side, the result of deep-seated deformations of socialist practice. Bewildered by the growing dearth of ideas, careerism, corruption and by lack of spirituality and social apathy depriving one of will, a certain part of the intelligentsia has become the victim of religious illusions frequently changing into outright mysticism.

I am convinced that an analysis of these processes would be of great social and ideological value. Despite all the diversity of opinions which could appear as the result of

such a discussion, we must not in any case forget that freedom of conscience is one of the fundamental rights of man. And we must rigidly adhere to this principle in the course of discussion.

### **Head of Antizionist Committee Interviewed on Growth of Jewish Cultural Groups**

18000556 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian  
No 6, 11-17 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Colonel-General D. A. Dragunskiy, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and chairman of the Antizionist Committee of Soviet Society, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent, date and place not specified]

[Text][Question] David Abramovich, great interest in the development of national culture is coming out everywhere today. Significant changes are taking place in this area. What is your attitude toward the development of Jewish culture and how can you describe the processes that are taking place in it?

[Dragunskiy] Two main tendencies can be traced in the development of Jewish culture in the USSR. The first is characterized by a growing desire of people to preserve their cultural uniqueness and the originality of their people.

In connection with this we are seeing activism in setting up independent Jewish associations which try to contribute to the development of Jewish culture, in Moscow, Riga, Tallinn, Minsk, Lvov, and other cities. We should note particularly that the aktiv of writers, sociopolitical commentators, and artists that formed around the journal SOVETISCH HEIMLAND (in Moscow) and is headed by the well-known Jewish poet Arok Vergelis has been working in the field of Jewish culture for about 30 years now.

The other tendency is seen in the attempts of certain people, under the guise of developing Jewish culture, to carry on ideological work among the Jewish population of our country with an orientation to emigrating from the USSR.

So in recent times groups of "Jewish activists" in Moscow and other cities, stirred up by foreign Zionist centers, have been looking for opportunities to legalize their nationalistic, pro-Zionist activities within Jewish cultural societies formed in the USSR.

[Question] As far as it seems to me, antisemitism continues to exist in our country, at least on the level of everyday consciousness. How can we combat this phenomenon? What must be done here?

[Dragunskiy] You know as well as I that manifestations of antisemitism recently have in a number of cases taken on organized forms. From time to time D. Vasilyev's extremist wing of the Pamyat society makes itself heard.

I think that we cannot let a single instance of antisemitism go unpunished. In our opinion the criticism of antisemitism should be done above all by social organs consisting of representatives of not one, but various nationalities. Ideological work to expose antisemitism, just like Zionism, should be balanced and thoughtful so that it will not give certain circles occasion to interpret it as a form of pitting Jews against non-Jews.

[Question] Certain broadcasts by foreign radio stations have reported that the Antizionist Committee has virtually ceased its activities.

[Dragunskiy] Here is what I can tell you about that. Let us look at things realistically. There are many organizations we do not like in other countries, but we do not demand that they be disbanded. We carry on polemics with them, acting in the spirit of the times and respecting their right to their own point of view. We know that there are hundreds of actively functioning analytical and information-propaganda centers in the West today working on a broad spectrum of problems touching the status of Jews in the USSR.

And the formation of the Antizionist Committee of Soviet Society in our country in 1983 caused great annoyance in Western Zionist circles and in Israel.

Notice, however, that while criticizing the Zionists and the aggressive policy of the Israeli leaders we have never ever come out against the people of Israel or the Jews of other countries, and we have regularly stressed the absurdity of even raising such a question. Soviet people and progressive Jewish organizations in many countries of the world know this very well. Those who make such ridiculous accusations against us either know nothing of the functions of the Antizionist Committee or they are doing it deliberately.

It should be recognized that formation of the public idea of the Antizionist Committee has definitely been influenced by one-sided treatment of its activities: the focus has been on the "expose" aspect of the Committee's activities and almost nothing has been said about its promotion of the development of Jewish culture, help to citizens of Jewish nationality in defending their national dignity, reaction to cases of antisemitism, participation in restoration of memorial centers and burial places, assistance to Jewish theatrical and creative collectives and the Moscow Choral Synagogue, the role of the Antizionist Committee in returning former Soviet citizens from abroad to the Homeland, and so on. This

aspect of the Committee's activities is, unfortunately, less well-known to the broad public, and a good share of the blame for this goes to the Antizionist Committee itself. I am ready to acknowledge that kind of criticism.

[Question] Under conditions of democratization and glasnost have there been changes in the activity of the Antizionist Committee?

[Dragunskiy] Yes, the situation has changed for the better, especially on the ideological level. Many ideas and arguments which the West has used for decades to take political advantage of the "Soviet Jew question" have lost their topicality because of political restructuring. On the other hand we cannot deny that the traditional criticism of the ideology and political practices of Zionism was in large part declarative and unsupported.

This does not mean, though, that the fundamental conclusion about the reactionary essence of Zionism has proven mistaken. On the contrary, it is being confirmed again and again in contemporary political and social life. The organizations that are part of the international Zionist system have not renounced one of their primary missions, to intensify the desire of Soviet Jews to emigrate.

The objectivity of our assessments of Israel's aggressive line have also been confirmed. On the question of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict there have been major changes for the better recently.

[Question] Are changes taking place in the development of contacts between the Antizionist Committee and foreign Jewish organizations?

[Dragunskiy] Thanks to the new thinking the attitude of many Jewish communities, including ones who are connected with Zionist circles in the United States and Israel, is changing for the better. There is a growing stream of proposals to establish contacts with Jews in the USSR, mainly in the fields of Jewish culture and religion. We are seeing a trend toward linking these matters with proposals for practical cooperation with our country.

Soviet organizations, including the Antizionist Committee, welcome these desires and do not avoid dialogue, although we are aware that in these circles there are still, in addition to persons who sincerely want to establish mutual understanding and cooperation, significant forces who are trying to use democratization and glasnost to achieve their own political objectives.

**MVD Deputy Minister Sizov on Required Alcohol Treatment Programs**

18300335 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
25 Dec 88 p 6

[Interview with L. Sizov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, by IZVESTIYA correspondent: "LTP: Treatment, And Not 'Time Serving'"]

[Text] The problem of mandatory treatment of alcoholics has recently been widely discussed. Our newspaper, specifically, has devoted two publications to this topic in November—"Dispensaries of Strict Regimen" [IZVESTIYA No 328, 329]. The topic, judging by the reader response, is extremely current, since the legal reform currently being implemented in the country and the increased attention of society toward questions of maintaining socialist law and order persistently demand changes in the work of institutions providing mandatory medical measures. Among them are treatment-work dispensaries (LTP).

Our correspondent asked USSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs L. Sizov to express his ideas on this matter.

[Sizov] Actually, analysis has shown that these institutions, in the form in which they exist today, find it very difficult to solve the problems of treatment and work rehabilitation of patients suffering from alcoholism. The main obstacle here is that the forms and methods of work which have been formulated in the dispensaries are largely outdated. We also see a significant problem in the order of directing patients for mandatory treatment. The result is that often people are sent here without sufficient cause. The material-technical base of a number of such institutions is also unsatisfactory. Moreover, it is easy to see the inadequacy in the organization of labor of the patients, the weak preparation of the cadres for work in the dispensaries, and the low level of scientific development of the problem of mandatory treatment and social-labor rehabilitation under these rather specific conditions.

Therefore, we understand, the critical situation which has arisen cannot help but concern the press and the public. Well, and of course, those who are in the LTPs. I will say immediately that the Ministry of Internal Affairs shares the concern of IZVESTIYA.

[Correspondent] What is being done in this case to change the situation?

[Sizov] For the last 1.5-2 years the attention of all interested services of the ministry has been focused on the work of the treatment-work dispensaries. There have been several tens of groups of associates who have made on-site visits to perform an in-depth study of the state of affairs in each dispensary. Specific measures have been developed for correcting the shortcomings which have been found. Their realization has yielded certain results.

But only—certain results. At the same time, it became clear to us that ordinary measures directed simply at correcting the shortcomings would not be enough. For a radical solution to the problem it would be necessary to reorganize the entire system.

Today the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and USSR Ministry of Health have completed the preparation of proposals for improving mandatory treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts and for restructuring the activity of the LTPs. Outlines of normative statutes have been developed and presented for consideration.

Among them is a proposal for organizing mandatory treatment of a certain category of patients suffering from alcoholism and drug addiction within the system of the USSR Ministry of Health. In this case, the LTPs (although they remain under the jurisdiction of the organs of internal affairs) would treat only those patients who, despite measures which have been taken for them, violate the public order or the rules of socialist communal living and evade mandatory treatment at institutions of public health organs.

[Correspondent] The mail received by our newspaper synonymously states that the rights of persons being treated at LTPs are quite often violated, and sometimes simply ignored...

[Sizov] I will not argue with this. Considering this fact, we are focusing particular attention in the new documents on the question of protecting the rights and legal interests of the patients. Among the basic measures guaranteeing legal protection of a patient at all stages of treatment, and primarily during mandatory treatment are: commission confirmation of the diagnosis of alcoholism or drug addiction if the need arises for [the patient] to be directed for mandatory treatment. The patient will have the right to have a lawyer present at the judicial meeting, and the right to appeal the decision of the court regarding direction to a treatment-labor dispensary, etc.

Changes are also planned in the organization of work of the dispensaries themselves. Step-by-step removal of limitations is planned in these institutions—including the patients' living outside the boundaries of the guarded territory. The patients will be allowed to use money and personal clothing and to meet unhindered with relatives and friends... All this, naturally, will be at the concluding stage of treatment and depending on its results.

[Correspondent] We can only welcome such a policy, as well as the "leaning" in the direction of the main thing—the treatment of the patients. Nevertheless, all these are still plans. They may be close at hand, but they are still matters for tomorrow. But can we take the first steps already now?



[Sizov] Without waiting for a final review of our proposals, the ministry has adopted in the current year a number of specific measures for humanization of the living conditions in the LTP. The means of mass information have already reported on them. This, of course, is still not perestroyka. Yet in those institutions where they have taken a creative approach to the matter, there have also been noticeable changes in the attitudes of the patients toward treatment.

But, alas, not everything is that simple. In many LTPs the process of humanization has encountered serious obstacles. The main one of these is the complexity of psychological restructuring of the cadres toward a new style of interrelations with the patients, based not on the command-regimen approach, but on tedious psychological-pedagogical work. And it is no wonder. The stereotype has been formed for decades, and cannot be broken all at once. The inadequacy of the current system of training cadres for the LTP is also apparent. We are working on this. However, there is still one other very important factor which hinders the dispensary workers from tuning in to the humanitarian wave.

[Correspondent] What are you referring to?

[Sizov] The behavior of the patients. Let us take, for example, the recently introduced standard which permits granting leave from the LTP for a period of up to 8 hours. It is clear: the main condition for this reward must be exemplary behavior, direction toward sobriety, and assurance of the fact that even without isolation there will not be a relapse. Yet in a number of dispensaries the patients have begun to demand leaves for everyone, even those who violate in-house rules. And when [these leaves] are denied, they have begun provoking unrest. Under the pretext of the "struggle" for elimination of LTPs there are often group protests, refusal to work, drunkenness and hooligan actions. The result is that this year such incidents have increased in the LTPs, and accordingly there has been almost a two-fold (!) increase in the number of persons brought to criminal responsibility for crimes committed while in the dispensaries.

[Correspondent] Yes, the situation is complicated. Will it not give us reason to believe that the LTPs should not be hasty with humanization?

[Sizov] We cannot in any case pose the question in this manner. The primary mistake here is the incorrect understanding of the essence of the process of humanization by patients as well as by individual dispensary workers. The humanization of conditions of mandatory treatment is primarily the strict adherence to socialist law and order on the part of the LTP administration, an attentive attitude to the legal interests of the patients. At the same time, humanization in no way means all-permissiveness or lowering of demands toward those who violate the regimen of treatment and by their behavior interfere with the treatment of others. The

established order must be strictly maintained, and persons who commit illegal, and moreover criminal, actions must bear the responsibility in accordance with the law.

Success may come only in one case, the most important condition for which is the unity of effort by the treatment personnel and the patients. The LTP workers, having chosen the profession of doctors and educators, a profession which is basically humane, must provide active support and help to the patients in their medical and social rehabilitation. The patients, on the other hand, should not sit and wait for "miracle drugs". It is in their own interests to themselves apply a maximum of effort to rid themselves of this horrible disease.

**Legal Terminology, Language Issue Discussed**  
*18000283 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH*  
*in Russian 12 Nov 88 p 3*

[Interview by I. Petrova with Professor Pavel Grigoryevich Semenov, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, doctor of juridical sciences: "The Truth About the Laws"]

[Text] Many little-used legal terms have recently entered into our language, and not only into language, but into life itself as well. The terms exist, but knowledge about them is insufficient. Readers are asking what lies behind innovations such as state language and possible citizenship in a republic, and of what political sovereignty consists. Our correspondent asked Pavel Grigoryevich Semenov, professor at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, doctor of juridical sciences, to answer the readers' questions.

[Petrova] About state language: how did it first appear in the constitutions of our republics and what is the history of the idea?

[Semenov] The idea began in the 1920's, in the Dashnak and "Musavat" movements in the Caucasus. Later, there was another extreme in soviet Georgiz, when deliberate internationalism was demonstrated and one could encounter almost comical things: in 1922 the inscription, "Proletariat of all countries, unite!," on the republic flag was written in three languages—Georgian, Russian and... French.

In 1937, when the constitutions of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were adopted, the state languages of the first two republics, Georgian and Armenian, were strengthened. In the 1950s, a corresponding amendment was made to the Constitution of Azerbaijan. The statute on the state languages of these republics was also carried over into the later adopted constitutions currently in effect. True, there is one difference. Originally, the clause on state languages was placed in the section on symbolism—in the same rank with the state seal, flag and capital. In the present-day constitutions of these republics, the clause on the state language was put in the section which speaks of the state system, i.e., the idea of

state language was expressed in a milder form from the legal point of view. The first version had been more pressured. As everyone knows, Lenin generally opposed granting state status to any language at all, even including Russian. He saw this as diktat, in this case linguistic.

[Petrova] With what interpretation was the clause on state language written in the constitutions of the Caucasian republics?

[Semenov] Let me cite the Constitution of the Georgian SSR, Article 75, verbatim:

"The state language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic is the Georgian language.

"The Georgian SSR will show state concern for the universal development of the Georgian language and will ensure its use in state and social agencies, institutions of culture, education and others.

"The free use in these agencies and institutions of Russian and other languages used by the population will be guaranteed in the Georgian SSR. No privileges or restrictions whatsoever in the use of one language or another will be permitted."

[Petrova] Are there differences in the interpretation of state language in the constitutions of the other two republics?

[Semenov] No, they are quite similar. The articles also consist of three sections—on ensuring the use of the state language, on the equal status and free use of other languages, and on not allowing privileges and restrictions in the use of languages.

[Petrova] Are there other versions in our country's legal practice?

[Semenov] There are, in the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic. Its Constitution stipulates three state languages—Abkhaz, Georgian and Russian.

[Petrova] What do you, a specialist, think about the introduction of laws on state languages?

Let us remember Nagorno-Karabakh: one of the aggravating elements that caused the disturbances was the dissatisfaction with the existence of a state language—Azeri. The introduction of state language in the Caucasian republics has had negative consequences. It affects cadre policy, education and upbringing. For instance, there is a fairly large share of non-native population in Georgia and Azerbaijan. People are unable to obtain an education in a number of professions. Irresponsible officials are given the opportunity to speculate on the status of a state language, infringing on some citizens' rights. Provisions regarding the equal rights of languages do not always work in practice, hence there are abuses. A

state language signifies privilege for the race whose language is declared the state language. In my opinion, this status cannot exist in a state that proclaims equality among races.

[Petrova] So, what is the situation with the development of national language?

[Semenov] We must develop them—using entirely democratic methods. However, administrative methods must not be used for this. After all, we have all condemned these methods... There must be linguistic freedom for every person. It is the republic's responsibility to provide an abundance of literature, records and cassettes for those who are studying language, to apply the most modern teaching methods, to train the necessary number of professional teachers, and to ensure the quality of instruction in the schools. Moreover, forceful introduction of a language is a psychological obstacle for people of other nationalities against mastering the native population's language and culture. Administrative props can scarcely promote the development of a language. I think that we need a state-wide law on language which would reflect well-known democratic principles: linguistic equality, joint instruction in the schools of children of all nationalities, the parents' right to choose the language education of their children, the absence of a state language in the republics and of a state-wide language in the country, and any citizen's right to turn to the authorities and receive an answer in his native language.

[Petrova] About citizenship... This is a very topical question in the republic today.

[Semenov] Neither the USSR Constitution, nor the Law on Citizenship pose obstacles to a republic law on citizenship.

In our country, matters relating to citizenship are regulated by the USSR Constitution, the 1978 USSR Law on Citizenship, as well as by the constitutions of union and autonomous republics.

The USSR Constitution establishes unified Union citizenship. The constitutions of union and autonomous republics established republic citizenship. According to the USSR Law on Citizenship, the grounds and procedures for receiving and losing Soviet citizenship are decided by USSR legislation. It is important to emphasize that the law establishes equal citizenship for all citizens of the USSR, regardless of the grounds for receiving it.

[Petrova] Article 2 of the USSR Law on Citizenship stipulates the possibility of a republic passing its own legislation on citizenship.

[Semenov] This is so. However, there are certain ambiguities regarding what sort of citizenship questions can be regulated by the union republic legislation. These questions have not been named in the USSR Law on

Citizenship. Regardless of this, I will once again emphasize that passing a union republic law on citizenship is not unconstitutional. This is not only because the presence of citizens is the most important feature of a sovereign state. The main thing is that the definition in the republic law regarding questions of who is a republic citizen, how said citizenship is received, and how it can be lost, should not contradict Union legislation on citizenship.

[Petrova] Then there are no legal problems whatsoever?

[Semenov] There are problems, as well as a certain misgiving. It lies in the following: in passing these laws, union republics can establish for the citizens of their republics some censuses, for example, regarding knowledge of the national language, settlement and so forth. Yet this inevitably entails the restriction of some rights for non-citizens of the republic. If a census is established for receiving republic citizenship, republic citizens will have definite advantages over people who are not republic citizens. That is, a certain contradiction will appear with the USSR Constitution, which has declared the equality of all citizens of the country, beyond any dependence.

Thus, everything depends not on the passing of a republic law on citizenship itself, but on what its contents will be.

[Petrova] The last concept which we would like to hear a specialist's opinion on is sovereignty.

[Semenov] There are different kinds of sovereignty, so let us consider political sovereignty. Any republic is sovereign as a Union republic. It has the right to secede from the USSR, without asking the permission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. However, we have not developed a mechanism for the procedures for this act. For instance, the CPSU can have its own opinion on each specific act, defining it, proceeding from common state interests. It can influence the passing or failure of this decision through the communists. A referendum could also be possible—if this procedure is to be developed.

[Petrova] State language. Citizenship. Political Sovereignty. We have tried to give our readers skilled advice on these concepts. Some things may have been left out or not reflected in the conversation. In this case, you can send your questions to the editors, and we will again turn to specialists for answers.

**Life in Komi Labor Camps Detailed**  
*18000407a Moscow OGOEK in Russian*  
*No 51, No 52, Dec 88*

[Article by Vitaliy Yereimin: "Timber Felling"]

[No 51, Dec pp 26-29]

[Text] Nature itself in Komi has created suitable conditions for isolating dangerous criminals. The dense forests, the impassable swamps and the almost complete

absence of roads. There are places where the colonies are not even fenced and barbed wire has not been set up. Run wherever you like, you will still not get far.

It is hard to remain here. The work in lumber felling, you yourselves will realize, is basically out in the fresh air. In the winter it is freezing cold and in the summer you are stifled by the torrid heat. But most of all one is depressed by the remoteness (they are brought here under escort from 32 regions of the nation) and by the abandonment to the tayga blind alleys. Not every girlfriend uses the legally granted one or two meetings a year. The cost is high and the distance not short.

One veteran camp inmate in writing repudiated his "thieve's title" if only he would be sent somewhere further to the south. At least there would be public there! Many, having served their time, again commit crimes, as a rule, even more severe ones. Although they know that they would scarcely be sent anywhere else but Komi.

"OK," I said to one veteran of captivity. "Maybe you are not so sorry for those you robbed. But aren't you sorry for yourself?"

"I am," he suddenly admitted.

"Why did you come back here?"

"Because we left here evil as beasts. We were made that way here!"

Well, there is the familiar song: the investigator was impolite, the judge harsh and the "boss" cruel. And this time for some reason one does not feel like brushing aside the usual justifications.

That morning, when we arrived at the strict-regime colony, misfortune had befallen someone. The prisoner Sh. had crossed the restricted area and came to within 20 m of the guard tower, he threw his shackles at the guard and unleashed a torrent of abuse. The 19-year-old soldier was not patient long....

The military procurator immediately began an investigation. But even he could not discover, even if he had wanted, what impelled the 27-year-old Sh. with his 6-year sentence to be so fatally bold. Sh. was dead.

As is known, the lumber colonies of the Komi ASSR are an enormous isolation cell for vice. But at the same time, are they not also an enormous accumulator of insults and hate?

The harsher the conditions of existence and the longer the sentences, the more the conduct of the prisoners is determined by an elementary instinct for self-preservation. Some exaggerate the impairment of their health or frankly feign illness. Some refuse to work under any pretext.



Each person seeks out ways to lighten his situation to the degree of his forces, abilities and depravity.

Some assume administrative positions. Others avoid common jobs by getting into services. Still others without excessive noise declare themselves to be prominent figures in the criminal world, "legitimate thieves" and live at the expense of the numerous "sheep."

In each colony there is an elite and a camp proletariat or plodders [rabotyag]; the formal power in the social organization of the prisoners rests with the collective council and the informal power of the hard core [otritsalovka]. The hard core and a portion of the plodders sympathizing with it reject any form of collaboration with the administration and are hostile to those who participate in such collaboration.

In the camp society, special concepts have arisen: what a prisoner may permit himself and what he may not. For example, it is a "no go" to work in the restricted zone, to write complaints, or to be a witness in any administrative or court investigation whatsoever. The severest sin is considered to be secret providing of information or an open appeal to the colony personnel involving a worsening of whatever one's situation.

The demands existing within camp society on each individual prisoner, as a rule, are the opposite of the demands made by the administration. Each day of the colony is full of contradictions between the two powers and the two codes of conduct.

The personnel has at hand an entire arsenal of punishments which come down to making the existence of the defiant hard core even harsher. On the other hand, the hard core has the opportunity to appear as the victim of tyranny, to acquire a negative authority and, possibly, even greater influence on the prisoners.

"We are constantly in contact only with the hard core and with those who support our demands, the aktiv. There is no middle ground," said the chief of the strict-regime colony, Lt Col V.Ye. Pryakhin. Whether Viktor Yegorovich [Pryakhin] would like it or not, he defined very precisely what the work of reindoctrinating the prisoners comes down to.

2

The summer in Komi is rainy. After a rain, according to the instructions the no-man's land (KSP) is to be loosened to a depth of 20 cm around the entire perimeter of the colony. The instructions spare the escort of hard labor and assigns this matter to the administration. But will the officers spend any time in the restricted zone. They begin to persuade the prisoners.

"The repairing of the KSP is a substantial agony for us," said V.Ye. Pryakhin. "The Corrective Labor Code permits the prisoners to be involved in labor without

payment only in jobs relating to providing amenities in the places of incarceration. It must also be considered that many have strained relations with the soldiers and the hard core is simply afraid to enter the restricted zone. And it must not be forgotten that this work is disdained.

"I will die, but I will not go in the restricted zone"—these words are heard by the administration almost every day. And they respond as is required by the Corrective Labor Code (ITK). One of the main means for correcting the prisoners is the regime as stated in the code. And the basic demand of the regime is unswerving obedience. Whether a demand is legal or illegal—this the administration can argue about in its circle. Of course, it is illegal if only because the work is unpaid. But, in order not to give way, measures must be taken.

The good thing in the colony is the members of the SPP or section for preventing infractions. They always help out. So if you wish to work in the restricted zone. But they cannot fell a forest. Just how many of them are there in the colony where Lt Col V.Ye. Pryakhin is the chief? "Just around 50," said Viktor Yegorovich, "but only 15 of them are active."

And here you have a case of pedagogical arithmetic. The administration sends the SPP members into the restricted zone only in an extreme case, if the others refuse. And there is a minimum of a thousand of these others who adhere to the unwritten laws of the zones. A prisoner can carry out the output standards and observe the regime. But he has merely to refuse to work in the restricted zone and he can immediately be considered in the hard core and sent to the isolation cell.

The isolation cell [ShIZO] is seemingly specially equipped so that the person being punished comes even into closer contact with the hard core sitting it out there. The ShIZO has concrete walls, dampness, cold and no bedding ("your mug under your head and your slippers under your back," explained the men in their cells to me) as well as reduced rations (in truth, this has been eliminated this year).

"We are kept here like cattle," the prisoners told me. No, the air is cleaner in a cattle shed, a pig sty or a kennel. There at least the windows are not sealed tight. "You should smoke less!" advised the indoctrinators in shoulder straps, happily. One of the prisoners went up to his toilet, unbuttoned his fly and coolly demonstrated his opinion of the happy superiors standing in the doors.

The first time a person is sent to the ShIZO he is almost certainly insulted by the personnel. Or, in any event, he has been put on notice. Later on...later on one can be sent for 15 days for an unbuttoned shirt collar, for disorder in the night table, for smoking in an improper place, or for talking with a friend from the neighboring hut. The former miner from Vorkuta, Petr Koptilkin, committed his first crime at the age of 26 for fighting with the sector inspector. From his present second

sentence he has spent around 18 months in the PKT, a chamber-type cell, and this is even worse than the ShIZO. And for what? "Because I do not allow any useful parasite to call me 'wretch'," explained Koptilkin.

It is something else when in the ShIZO they sit down to play cards. In these instances even the greatest haters of the administration have no special claims. But it is completely different when "they hassle you for setting a snow-covered mountain afire." Such a phrase has come into being to mean petty interference. To the fighters against the hard core, it seems that they must make something out of the reprobates. In their ardor they do not notice how they begin to suppress ordinary human dignity. One of the veterans of the ShIZO and BUR [disciplinary barrack] by some miracle had been able to cancel out his reprimand and had earned a meeting with his wife. "Well, you have found a husband for yourself!" said the regime chief with disdain. The wife let the cat out of the bag, the husband did not shut up and instead of the desired meeting room, he was sent to the ShIZO. The ShIZO not only ruins your health. It not only delivers an ordinary plodder into the captivity of the hard core. Here also a terrible hate for the SPP members ripens. Here it is difficult to catch someone with drugs (as is done in other colonies of the nation). Thank God, there still are no "residents," just occasional suppliers of various drugs, the market of the forest colonies. But let someone get his hands on several potatoes from the outside and decide to fry them....

"I should bring to your attention," I read in the report of one dutyman, "that prisoner (so-and-so) systematically does not get up for breakfast and by his action influences the other prisoners." How? Here is how. "...Together with prisoner (so-and-so) he eats in the sleeping quarters thereby flagrantly violating the sanitary state."

On many members of the SPP, as they say, there is no restraint. Well, they too frankly pursue their own selfish interests. In the colony where V.Ye. Pryakhin is the chief, of the 15 active members of the SPP, only 5 work along with all the others in processing the wood.

A certain Shevtsov many years ago raped a juvenile girl. In the colony he joined the SPP, he kept his health and at the age of 46 again raped an adolescent. And what of it? Possibly, Shevtsov has now drunk fully of the bitter cup of captivity? No, he is again in the SPP and again in the position of bathhouse tender.

A certain Reshetilo worked his way into a position of trust, he was sent out as an escort...and...disappeared. No real problem, only Reshetilo was not a simple member of the SPP, but its chairman.

In those colonies where we visited, at present there is a new leadership which is gentler and more patient. But there still are those who say through set teeth: "Just wait, this power is temporary. Soon it will be replaced by one which will really put the pressure on you!"

3

I leafed through the Criminal Code and found, as a minimum, two articles which would apply to harsh officials [davlshchik]. Article 131 provides criminal liability for the intentional belittling of the honor and dignity of an individual when expressed in an indecent form. Article 113 provides responsibility not only for beatings but also for any actions which have the nature of torture.

Are there many known instances when any harsh official has been punished in full accord with the law? The very posing of such a question can evoke irritation among the colony workers and Homeric laughter among the prisoners. Both of them say one thing: "Responsibility for whom? For a prisoner?"

"Citizen chief, prisoner so-and-so is here upon your orders." These words are pronounced in any colony hundreds of times a day and no one finds anything strange in them.

The violator of the law hears the form of address "citizen" the last time in court. Then he is turned into a prisoner and in him they cease seeing a citizen and, consequently, a man.

If we do not cease to see the citizen in the criminal, we would be completely satisfied with the situation where the court sentence deprives him of the opportunity to see his relatives, to conduct a physiologically normal way of life and work in his specialty. Finally, we would be satisfied with the fact that we are depriving him of liberty.

But it is considered that moral action alone cannot lead to atonement and rehabilitation. For this reason, additional punishments are thought of many of which in the hands of the harsh officials are turned into instruments of moral and physical torture.

The more convictions a person has, the more society should be interested in returning him to normal life. But the harsher the regime of imprisonment the fewer the letters the prisoner can write to his family, and the more rarely his wife and children can visit him.

It might require just a few months for one criminal to repent. Another might not mend his ways for many years. But both are put in the same situation. They can receive a package or a money order only after serving one-half of the term. It is considered that rehabilitation cannot occur earlier.

A prisoner is regularly shaved bald. For years, he is systematically deprived of a normal human appearance. On the other hand, it is easier to find him if he runs off. A prisoner who has just 1 or 2 months until the end of his

sentence is usually permitted to grow his hair. But it takes only a minor infraction (if one is in the ShIZO) and the barber is summoned immediately.

Even during the times of the GULAG [Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps], the prisoners were able to move freely through the zone. But during the times of Brezhnev and Shchelokov, some "innovator" proposed enclosing each hut in barbed wire. The so-called locals were created, a sort of prison within the colony. And now one can get oneself into the ShIZO for just two words addressed to a friend from a neighboring hut. The personnel themselves recognize that the locals are not necessary, they merely anger the prisoners but change nothing.

In the GULAG times, the prisoners were given numbers. Now, several years later, they thought up the idea of having each prisoner wear a sewn-on name tag. Who needed this? Possibly the detachment chiefs? But they know every man. What about the regime chief or the inspectors? They also have a professional memory. Then whom? No one. They decided in some important office that these tags would provide more order and that was that. For many years, it was prohibited to consume strongly brewed tea, the not unknown "chifir." It was felt that this beverage made the prisoner aggressive and uncontrollable. There was organized hunting down of the users of chifir. They were tracked by the SPP members. They were apprehended by the inspectors or better overseers. How many persons caught with chifir went through the schooling in criminal conduct in the ShIZO and BUR! How many earned new terms for resisting in being apprehended with the chifir! The hunting down went on for scores of years and as a minimum one out of every five prisoners used chifir.

In 1972, the persecution was stopped. But the slightest outburst of crime was not noticed inside the zone. Now it is possible to purchase tea at any colony canteen. (In truth, not more than a package a month. And here the harsh officials have done their work.) But how many fates have already been broken!

"The prisoners are to receive food which ensures normal vital activity of the organism," states the Corrective Labor Code. How much does "normal nutrition" cost on a strict regime? Twenty rubles a month.

For those confined to the ShIZO and BUR, a "reduced nutritional standard" was introduced costing 10 rubles a month. When the prisoner Petr Koptilkin was carried out of the BUR, he weighed just 40 kg.

But alright, Koptilkin was a violator of the regime. But what does the camp proletariat suffer? How can he work in freezing weather with a chronic, nagging sensation of hunger?

The colony where V.Ye. Pryakhin is the chief, last year produced 28 million rubles in net profit. When the prisoners heard this figure, they became extremely irritated and began speaking to the citizen chief, without minding their words.

"We produce millions and we are fed for 66 kopecks a day. We are supposed to have 65 gm of meat but where is it? The cook stole it, he was removed and now we are again receiving it. We realize that the nutritional standards are dictated from above. What are they thinking about? If we are worn out will others take our place? So what about it?"

The complete lack of rights of a prisoner is eloquently expressed in the slang word "boss" (the colony chief). In actuality, the power of the "boss" is virtually unlimited and unsupervised. Even if someone writes out a complaint, even if the complaint reaches its destination, even if a procurator comes to supervise, most often nothing changes. "I will not feed you," stated the former deputy chief for the regime in one of the colonies to those prisoners in the ShIZO. "The minister will support me." All very correct. The official interest in the unmerciful suppression of the hard core (and all the abuses of power concealed by this struggle) is always placed higher than any other considerations. You can't fell a forest without making the chips fly! It is no accident that the prisoners hate the procurators as much as they do the most zealous harsh officials.

"They constantly steal from me!" shouted the prisoner S. Kostryukov in the office of V.Ye. Pryakhin. "I have a debt of 187 rubles. But I cannot pay a single ruble. I cannot buy a package of tobacco in the canteen. If I were not fulfilling my output norm, my place would be in the ShIZO. But I fulfill it. How am I paid? An average of less than a ruble a day!"

V.Ye. Pryakhin summoned the timekeeper. They leafed through the orders. "My signature is forged!" shouted Kostryukov and for full proof wrote his own signature next to the false. Pryakhin and the timekeeper did not know what to say....

"There is a whole line for you!" they shouted at me through the door.

"Half the prisoners want to talk to you!"

"Why not hold a general meeting? You will learn a lot!"

If I had asked, V.Ye. Pryakhin would not have refused me. But I myself was afraid of this meeting. Who knows how it might end.

"Punish him," V.Ye. Pryakhin was ordered by his superior chief, when the livid Kostryukov left.

There would be more than one Kostryukov going to the ShIZO after the meeting....



Particularly overt dehumanization of the prisoners occurs with the escort service. "We have unarmed contact with the prisoners," V.Ye. Pryakhin told me, "the escort, on the contrary, has armed contact. And this turns the head of even the officers."

"The soldiers are taught that a prisoner on chifir can leap 7 m and is raging mad. The soldiers do not see us as people," said the plodders. "It is about 15 minutes walk to the production zone and we often spend around an hour. Particularly if there is rain or snow. The column tries to go faster. The escort chief orders a slowing of the pace. But those in front continue on the sly to move forward. The group behind begins to push forward! Then the dog handlers release the leashes. There are shots over your head. Then the order 'Sit Down!' We sit down either in the snow or in the mud. We make it hard for the escort and they make it hard for us. And this sometimes happens twice a day."

And when human dignity is so depreciated, it is not at all surprising that life itself loses its value. Every soldier knows that he will receive a 10-day leave for preventing an attempt to escape. He, in truth, also knows that the use of weapons for effect is permitted in exceptional instances if the designated actions cannot be prevented by other means. But is it necessary to bother oneself with other methods if the prisoner is not human?

The military procurator considered the actions of the soldier who had fired on prisoner Sh. as justified.

4

Reforging...reindoctrination...these words could deceive someone when the book about the White Sea Canal was published. At present, I am certain that no worker from the places of incarceration would say to himself that he was employed in precisely such an undertaking. Because there simply is no space for such an undertaking. This is destroyed by both lives of the colony. The life which is beyond the power of the administration and the one which the administration itself organizes. Sometimes a prisoner is clever enough to live his own, separate third life which is not visible either to those around him or the harsh officials and to keep his human quality. But this is a strictly individual success and one encountered exceptionally rarely. It is the exception which proves the rule.

But there are no neutral processes. If the established stereotype of work with the prisoners does not produce positive results, what does it produce?

In the Moscow prisons, the lines to see a dentist take up to a half-year. But what about those confined to the wilds of Komi? Almost every prisoner who has served 5 or 6 years there has lost about half his teeth.

Almost every man by the age of 40 and at times significantly earlier develops two or three chronic illnesses. In any lumber colony there is a separate hut for tuberculosis patients. But there is not a separate mess and they work together with the healthy ones.

A special colony has been organized for the tuberculosis patients in an overt form. But while the positions who are accustomed to see in any prisoner coming to them a feigner or a trouble maker can recognize this stage of the illness, while they are being escorted, the Koch rods infect the weakened organisms of the other prisoners. According to official information, in comparison with 1981, the number of patients ill with the open or patent form of tuberculosis in the corrective labor institutions more than doubled.

Other serious consequences are only deferred in time. Sooner or later they will get rid of the patient. He has merely to travel several stops in an overcrowded bus or "spend a while" in the beer bar to transmit the illness to scores of unsuspecting persons.

This is the price of the "scientifically sound" nutritional standards and particularly the "reduced standard." This is the contribution of the camp harsh physicians to this nonjoking problem. Certainly this is their sacred duty to monitor the portioning of the food, to follow the quality of the food, and to protest, finally, against the practice of influencing the legal awareness of the prisoners through their stomachs.

"We have a thousand head of cattle, 1,200 pigs and around 10,000 chickens," I was told in the Mikun Forestry Administration.

But, when we arrived at the colonies, we could see anything we liked but not the messes....

[No. 52, Dec pp 20-23]

[Text] The slightest connivance of the administration toward the members of the SPP and cooperators leads to a stronger influence of the hard core and the "legitimate thieves." "When I arrived in this zone," one of them told me, "the first thing I did was to summon the cook: they say that you are putting meat on the side, why do you steal from the men?"

So much for the leader's concern for the other men. He has his own interests. Namely that the cook feed no one but his group of thieves. Such is the psychology of the prisoners. They are convinced that under the supervision of the thieves, they will get something to eat. But under the control of the administration....

The prisoners respond sensitively to the changes occurring in the nation. The large run *Za chestnyy trud* published by the lumber administration has begun receiving letters with various complaints about the

administration. How has the newspaper responded? Possibly it has published these letters? No, it has answered them as follows: "For some glasnost means to see their life without any curtains and for others to savor the terrors of the corrective labor system." There was no checking out of the facts. There were no arguments confirming that something was distorted or exaggerated in the letters. They were slanderers and that was it!

Is it possible to show such an attitude toward the prisoners, many of whom presently order 100-200 rubles worth of newspapers and magazines, and are attempting to live in the same spirit of purification as all the people, they are trying to instill order and justice in that life which they have now and will have for many years to come? Is not the very ideas of restructuring discredited in the eyes of the prisoners by so doing? Is the newspaper indifferent as on whose side is the truth about the camps?

On the other hand, the hard core is not indifferent. "If they put pressure on us, we will pressure them!" And here the hard core is picking up points.

"For a long time we watched the men going to the ShIZO because of the name tags," one "legitimate thief" told me, "and decided: health is more precious than self-esteem, the devil take it, we will wear the name tags! How many men we saved!" And they got not a single point but a hundred points all at once.

In colony I inquired: are there any particular features in working with young prisoners? Had any particular approach been developed for them? Certainly each of the young prisoners is more afraid of undersalting than oversalting. Each must make a choice of on whose side he will be? Who is less hard? Who is more just? The "legitimate thief"? Or the citizen chief? Sooner or later each man places his destiny with one side or the other. Should there not be a special approach to the young?

The indoctrinators in shoulder straps shrugged their shoulders. They could not understand what I was seeking from them. The very posing of such a question seemed stupid to them as what special approach could there actually be if a predominant majority of those condemned and confined to strict and special-regime colonies was young?

"Each person who resolves to join the SPP thereby indicates that he has firmly set out on the path of rehabilitation," the colony workers explained to me.

"Each person who joins the SPP sooner or later betrays someone to the administration or is involved in this. This is inevitable. Certainly the SPP fights against the violators of the regime. If a member does not participate in this struggle the administration says to him: this means that you have not set out on the path of rehabilitation," the experienced camp members explained to me.

That was how it was. In order to prove one's rehabilitation and get out ahead of time, it was necessary to report on someone or turn someone in. No one saw in this anything contrary to nature, abnormal or contrary to ordinary morality. On the contrary, such behavior is praised greatly and is declared to be courageous, principled and even honest.

"Is it really so hard to abandon the encouraging of informing? Is it really impossible to remove all that stinks from so-called reformatory?" I asked the experienced workers of the colonies.

And only one replied directly: "Everything is possible. But for this it is essential to alter the customary attitude toward work, to change, in essence, the way of thinking, to work more and better ourselves, without using the prisoners."

The so-called modification of behavior is a system of rewards according to which the prisoners "earn" their privileges and early release. This is not an invention of ours. In virtually all nations this modification is considered the main effect on the prisoners.

Let us not foster illusions on the question of the conditions in Western prisons. Not so rarely the newspapers provide sensational announcements about prison riots caused by the harsh handling on the part of the overseers.

If a punishment ceases to be a source of suffering, then it is no longer a punishment. Having subscribed to this credo of a majority of the Western criminologists and prison experts (in our opinion, this can be put shorter: if you earn it you get it!), we have completely forgotten about the dialectics of the mutual responsibility of the criminal and society. We have also forgotten that in the first USSR Principles of Criminal Legislation the formula was contained: punishment is not retribution. And we have forgotten, finally, that the methods of reformatory founded on the formula of retribution in moral terms are in no way better than the actions of the prisoners, for they themselves can be described as actions contrary to the law.

The interests of true and not declarative reformatory demand that the workers in the colonies in moral terms be higher than the prisoners. Such height can be gained with one major condition: if in the prisoner they will see the man and will be obliged to deal with him as a man.

But even if the entire system of reindoctrination underwent strict testing for legality and morality, even if it was decisively revised this would not provide the expected results. And here is why.

6

"Once I came to the forestry administration to give a lecture for the propagandists," I was told by a Syktyvkar scientist. "In the auditorium were some 250 men. I was amazed as there was not a single rank below a major!"

Certainly the scientist had noticed very accurately. I visited this same administration and talked with the department chief Nikolay Ivanovich Gutsal. He confirmed that he alone had six deputies. Even a minister does not have as many.

We have made socially useful labor the basis for the reindoctrination of the criminal. But with such an inflated staff is such "indoctrination" worth much?

One of our prison keepers told us that they had brought in Prima cigarettes to a colony for juveniles. No one bought them! The reason was simple and terrible. Because the packets were red.

In the lumber colonies the Prima cigarettes were willingly purchased. There was no question of such juvenile maximalism for the plodders. But that is not the whole point. Precisely from here and spreading through the other colonies was the fashion of tatoos of the sort "Slave of the Communists." (The tatoos were placed directly on the face and the administration had the problem of an emergency operation.) The prisoners transfer their attitude toward the existing system of incarceration and reindoctrination to all our authority.

But this should not amaze us, let alone cause indignation. If we cease to see the citizen in the criminal and reinforce such an attitude with legal standards, is it any surprise that the criminal pays us back in kind and goes farther, beginning to hate the society which has rejected him and ceased to see the man in him?

But I can feel that some readers may long be seething. It is easy to imagine what this reader might say. The recidivist is devoid of a feeling of responsibility not only before society and the law but also before his family, relatives and, finally, before his own honor. His conscience has become warped. He disdainfully feels that he can allow himself what is not allowed for others. He impudently puts himself above morality, above the law, above society. And "above" means "outside." He himself does not see the citizen in himself. And why should we see the citizen in him?

The reply to this seemingly logical reasoning is simple. If we have no hope of returning the recidivist to a normal life, then in such an instance we must introduce life imprisonment.

But in as much as we are not doing this, we thus feel the ability of society to rehabilitate the recidivist and the ability of the recidivist to again feel himself a citizen.

The art of rehabilitation requires that the prisoner be turned into a citizen not after his release but while still there behind bars. Precisely there, in prison, we demand that the recidivist give up the social role of a criminal which is habitual for him. But what does he gain instead? The role of a SPP member?

Even under Stalin, in the camp huts they hung up printed announcements on the "Rights and Duties of Prisoners." Just take a glance at the present Corrective Labor Code. There you will find the words "permitted" and "possible." But no where will you find: "The prisoner has the right." And a being without rights, as was correctly affirmed by Ushinskiy, can be good or evil but he cannot be moral.

Real rights which are really protected against the arbitrariness against the harsh officials—this is what can help the prisoner feel his own human and civil dignity. And not only in the colony but also at liberty. For there are more than enough harsh officials both among the police workers who do not want to admit persons returning from camps. And among the administrators who prefer not to hire convicts. And together they bring the man with his release form to the easiest settling of accounts with society, to a new crime. Only the harsh officials do not usually suffer. The wrathful, despairing recidivists seeks vengeance for his unrealized life (none of them dreamed in childhood of becoming a criminal and outcast) against the first persons he comes across. Against you and me, reader, against our children.

Where have we gained this inhuman, simply unhealthy, unwise attitude toward prisoners, an attitude producing results the opposite of what we expect, that is, an even greater increase in recidivist crime?

7

In a special dictionary published for official use and numbering around 3,000 words and expressions, the word "official mission" [komandirovka] means a "colony." This dictionary should also incorporate a new slang word "population." This is what the prisoners confined to Komi call themselves.

And how many "official missions" and how much "population" are there in the republic?

Here are located the special commandant offices where the prisoners work hypothetically in being sent to national economic construction projects and called among the people "chemists." Around 1,000 exiles in their majority are evil persons who refuse to pay alimony. There are many settlement colonies where without an escort but under supervision prisoners released ahead of time from the lumber colonies work together with regular citizens. What can be said about these remote lumber settlements? There the "population" is larger than the population.



There are stories about Komi. A boy in nursery school was asked what he would become when he grew up. The young fellow replied "a person without an escort." There is nothing surprising in this. Thousands of prisoners working without escorts roam among the local inhabitants. Thousands of parolees are "dissolved," as is usually written here, in the healthy collectives. Only it is not yet known who is dissolved in whom.

The local newspapers are full of alarming articles: the Komi are beginning to forget their mother tongue. On the other hand, the persons living next to the colonies from large to small can freely shatter in Finnish.

There is a transit station in Mikun. Almost daily the railroad station is cordoned off by troops with assault rifles. A train arrives, the convicts jump out of the special cars and squat down. There is the shout of the escorts, the clank of bolts and the barking of dogs....

Doesn't this remind you of something?

But what is the total of "official missions" and the "population"? They would not give me the total number: "We can say how many prisoners there are in the United States. How many we have in Komi...."

One must make a tentative estimate proceeding from the structure. As a total in the Komi ASSR there are four administrations of corrective labor institutions. There is one republic one and three lumber administrations subordinate directly to the USSR MVD.

The position of chief of a lumber administration is held by someone with a general's rank. The Komi minister of internal affairs is a colonel.

In each lumber administration there are five divisions. How many colonies in a division? "Why should you know this?" They looked at me with a polite smile, almost sympathetically. Then everything was slightly concealed. The number of strict regime camps? Well, probably, no less than colony settlements.... Possibly more. Only Moscow knew....

After last year's amnesty the "population" declined. From each colony some 300-400 men were released. But no one had reduced the state plans for lumbering of the MVD. The plans had to be fulfilled. And convoys began arriving from our southern republics where the prisoners, as they asserted, were languishing.

The new "population" demanded padded jackets in the summer and in the winter refused to work. The damned prisoner instinct for self-preservation! In order that the "southerners" did not infect others with their conduct, the leadership decided to tighten the screws. Committed to the ShIZO were those who there, in the southern colonies, had been far from the hard core. The hard core here welcomed the increase in its ranks.

Here is a clear example of how a certain chain is formed: incarceration conditions based upon the formula of retribution—dissatisfaction by the prisoners with their condition—protest—suppression of the protest—the growth of the hard core—the further tightening of the screws—the wider involvement in punitive reindoctrination—embitterment—release with anger against society—the surfacing of the anger (the new crime).

For now it is hard to say what an increase the southern areas would provide for the Komi recidivists. (Scarcely anyone is concerned with such research.) On the other hand, it is well understood as to what was the reason.

Among the workers of the ITU [Corrective Labor Administration] there is the concept of the "fill rate." And this lowest fill rate in the lumber colonies—the consequence of a humane act—has also played its customary role.

Everything would have turned out differently if after the amnesty they would have shut down some colonies considering the usual percentage of return of amnestied prisoners. Then there simply would have been no place to house the "southerners." In truth, the plan would have suffered.... Certainly it is not to be excluded that someone there, up above, made the choice between the nonfulfillment of the plan and the adding to of the hard core.

If in the colonies of the 32 regions of the nation they new that they would have to get along with the most recalcitrant prisoners in the Komi, there, possibly, a greater effort would have been made to find a common tongue with them.

If the fill rate of the isolation cells and the chamber-type quarters had been reduced, then almost certainly this would have forced them to seek nonrepressive measures against the violators of the regime.

It seems to me that a direct relationship has formed between the fill rate of the places of incarceration (isolation cells) and a desire to use this fill rate.

Such a dependence also exists between our chronic failures in corrective labor policy and the almost religious belief in the transforming strength of labor. Prisoners in our nation turn out thousands of types of products. But even such diversity does not free us from increased recidivist crime. On the contrary, as is shown by the same example with the "southerners," the priority given to the utilization of labor merely strengthens the antagonism of the prisoners toward society.

They simply did not reckon on these southern areas. But in much that concerns the prisoners, we encounter wastefulness. It is difficult, psychologically difficult to estimate anything accurately with such a number of "official missions" and "population" which we are afraid even to mention. And for this reason for everyone

we find only those explanations which can conceal our inaccuracy, lack of culture, lack of conscience and complete indifference to the entire mass of prisoners and to the individual prisoner.

Why did the 27-year-old Sh. try to escape? He did not belong to the hard core. He had not refused to work. A couple of times he had been sentenced to the ShIZO "for damaging uniforms." And that was his guilty act. But that had been at a different "official mission." And at this one he had almost been a month in the clear of the administration. What had driven him into the restricted zone? To certain death?

The security had its own version: he had wanted to kill the sentry.

The administration had its own: he had lost at cards.

And I had my own. There are moments when a prisoner simply does not want to live anymore. He is mortally fed up with everything: the humdrum life, the slavish work, the ugly faces of those around, the glances of superiors, the tag on the chest which should be sewn on neatly.

Possibly Sh. had decided that it was better to have a tag on your toe than such a life....

8

I did not choose the persons I spoke with, but merely asked for an opportunity to meet with the representatives of all strata of camp society. With young and old, the "legitimate thieves" and members of the SPP, the plodders and the prisoners refusing to work. The administration of each colony chose at its discretion.

These were very diverse persons. But there was also something common in them. Virtually every one had been imprisoned for the first time for hooliganism. Then after release from the first time, he moved on to the theft of personal or state property. Only upon the third conviction did he move to robbery or open stealing. The category of criminal severity rose gradually until the man had been turned into a "heavyweight."

Many began their criminal career as "kids," that is, in the colonies for juveniles and later, having gotten into an adult colony, linked up with the hard core. Young and stupid, they had concluded that one can live for today. Whether the "boss" would release him ahead of time—this was another question, and the hard core even now helped embellish a depressing existence. For the young and the bold, it was difficult for them to satisfy the grasping exactingness of the harsh officials, it was hard to spot the loathsomeness of the "thieve's life" and the true face of the "noble 'legitimate thief,'" because the face of the immoderately zealous deputy chief for regime personally was much more terrible for them.

They quickly learned the thief's "philosophy of a beautiful life" and they learned to disdain and hate work. And for this reason the leap to the second, selfish crime was a completely logical consequence of their camp debut.

The second common property in the persons with whom I spoke was their social origin. When I asked where they had been born, in a majority of instances I heard: from such-and-such an oblast, from the peasantry.

It must be recognized that this particular feature of the special contingent is taken into account. This is true both at the lumber camps where, regardless of the presence of advanced equipment, they still need muscles and a peasant's careful attitude toward nature, as well as in other jobs. In the newspaper *Za chestnyy trud*, I read with amazement about the great labor accomplishments of the cutters, tractor operators and livestock raisers from the prisoners.

They also had approximately the same eyes. The eyes of people exhausted by hard work or by frequent stays in the ShIZO, tired of being drawn on the corrective labor rack. I did not see such eyes in the hardened criminals. They looked arrogant, daring, clever and mocking.

I was told that every day fires break out in the Komi forests. The extinguishing of them, like work in the restricted zone, is not paid for. But the plodders fight the fire without any particular patriotic appeal.

I was told at the republic MVD: last year's amnesty was carried out amazingly quietly. The waiters in the restaurant car were amazed that any of the shaved-headed passengers rarely requested alcohol.

Incidentally, not only rural people can show a civil awareness in putting out fires and also protect themselves from a new stay.

Anything was possible in the years of stagnation.

Recently, we have learned of sufficient facts of how they extracted "pure-hearted confessions" from honest people. As innocent, they were hidden behind bars and even executed. Hence one can easily imagine how the officials dealt with those who even once made a misstep.

They were blamed for crimes which they had not committed.

The judges handed down sentences which exceeded the degree of guilt.

From time to time, as a payment for the leave, they propose "cooperation with the officials." Those who did not agree were not at liberty long.

Something must be done. We must cleanse every case of the traces of injustice. This is that same no-man's land which must be repaired, if we want to weaken the sense of alienation of the prisoners from society.

At present, every person has an opportunity to restructure his thinking and awareness. It would be unjust not to provide the same chance to those who have run afoul of the law.

The prisoner Vladimir Khokhlov who had served a total of 24 years and who was recently shifted as a commendation from a special regime to a strict one, expressed, it seemed to me, the general attitude of the prisoners: "One thing has made it easier for us and that is they have begun to think about us." To think about as people, I should add for myself.

The world behind bars and enclosed in barbed wire ardently reads periodicals and searches for lines which would indicate possible changes.

It would be an error not to respond to these expectations.

This is also a chance for society.

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### Children's Health Problems in Tajikistan Reported

18300275a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST

TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by I. Alimov, chief pediatric neuropathologist at the Tajik SSR Ministry of Health, professor: "With Concern for Children's Health"]

[Text] At the constituent conference of the Soviet Mercy and Health Fund it was stated that the range of its tasks includes serving the cause of moral education of the Soviet people, increasing the responsibility for the preservation and building up of citizens' health, establishing a network of preventive, physical culture-health improvement, and rehabilitation institutions, and assisting in the implementation of measures to improve the environment.

The problems raised at the conference also concern our republic. Among them problems connected with the protection of children's health require the public's close attention. A great deal has been neglected here. For 3 years associates at the Department of Neurology of the Tajikistan State Medical Institute have been studying the spread of hereditary and nonhereditary diseases of the nervous system in the republic's southern and northern regions. Materials show that in Kuybyshevskiy, Kolkhozabadskiy, Kommunisticheskii, and Ayninskii rayons insufficient attention is paid to a prompt detection of invalids from childhood and the organization of children's homes.

Republic medical statistics annually records sad figures: About 1,700 children suffer from infantile cerebral paralysis and epilepsy. More than 3,000 different anomalies of the nervous system and other organs were noted in newborn babies alone. The number of children with motor, speech, and psychic disorders increases every year. The lack of development of specialized aid at early stages of the disease in many, especially remote, regions in the republic and the shortage of pediatric neurological beds lead to this.

Children's multispecialization hospitals are not being built recently, although there is a tremendous need for them. About 240 rejections of hospitalization owing to the lack of places are annually registered in the pediatric neurological department of the Republic Clinical Hospital No 3 alone.

The republic does not pay attention to the development of a network of specialized sanatoriums, although 30 to 50 percent of the children suffering from various neuroinfections need logopedic activities during a longer period than in neurological hospitals. But a logopedist has not been put on the staff of children's neurological departments in Leninabad, Kurgan-Tyube, and Kulyab to this day.

The facts cited require close attention on the part of the public, public health bodies, and party-state institutions. One can hope that the establishment of the republic mercy and health fund will provide significant help in the solution of the urgent problems of ensuring specialized aid to Tajikistan's children.

### USSR Ethnic Birthrates Given

18300275b Moscow VESTNIK STATISTIKI in Russian No 12, Dec 88 pp 16-21

[Article by G. Bondarskaya, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate at the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Goskomstat, and L. Darskiy, candidate of economic sciences, head of a laboratory at the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Goskomstat: "Ethnic Birthrate Differentiation in the USSR"]

[Text] The extensive study of the birthrate in the USSR, which began after the 1959 population census, uncovered its significant differentiation throughout territories. Special research showed that ethnic (national) affiliation had the basic differentiating effect on the birth level and territorial differences were determined to a significant extent by the national composition of the population in individual territories. Therefore, it is advisable to make an analysis of the current situation and a forecast of the birthrate with an inclusion of data on the birthrate among basic ethnic groups.

In the USSR the mother's national affiliation has long been taken into account in current birth statistics. However, in order to correctly compute birth coefficients for



individual nationalities, information on the number of individuals of a certain nationality, which is obtained only during a population census, is needed. On the basis of these sources of statistical data we calculated age and total birth coefficients for women of principal nationalities in the Union republics during years adjoining three population censuses (1959, 1970, and 1979). In the computation of indices current statistical data on the number of births among women of a certain age and of the principal nationality in each of the 15 Union republics during 2 years adjoining the census date were used as the numerator and the number of women of the same nationality and age in a corresponding Union republic

according to the population census, as the denominator. The calculation was made according to 5-year age groups, which are traditional in demography, for the ages of 15 to 54. At the same time, isolated cases of births among women under the age of 15 were included in the 15-19 age group and cases of births among women aged 55 and older, in the 50-54 age group. Total birth coefficients were calculated as fivefold sums of coefficients for 5-year intervals.

Table 1 presents, as an example, age coefficients of births among women of principal nationalities in the Union republics living on the territory of a corresponding republic in 1978-1979.

**Table 1. Age Coefficients of Births Among Women of Principal Nationalities in the Union Republics in 1978-1979. Total Population**

Republic	Number of Babies Born per 1,000 Women, by age							
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54*
RSFSR	42.4	150.1	96.3	50.6	15.9	4.2	0.2	0.0
Ukrainian SSR	45.9	170.1	107.4	54.6	20.0	5.6	0.4	0.0
Belorussian SSR	30.0	175.3	120.0	61.0	23.8	6.5	0.4	0.0
Uzbek SSR	35.6	307.6	339.9	270.1	177.8	92.8	17.0	2.7
Kazakh SSR	19.5	222.0	252.5	201.4	142.9	79.4	14.6	2.9
Georgian SSR	43.3	171.8	133.5	70.3	26.8	8.9	1.4	0.3
Azerbaijan SSR	17.0	201.9	250.5	170.0	97.2	41.2	6.1	1.1
Lithuanian SSR	26.1	154.0	125.1	68.3	34.4	11.1	0.8	0.0
Moldavian SSR	38.6	194.9	142.5	91.2	43.3	13.6	1.3	0.0
Latvian SSR	32.4	155.3	114.6	58.0	26.7	6.9	0.4	-
Kirghiz SSR	37.9	297.9	281.5	314.1	231.9	134.3	31.3	4.1
Tajik SSR	36.9	348.7	369.1	171.1	118.2	75.1	18.4	4.1
Armenian SSR	40.5	198.5	140.0	63.7	21.0	7.4	0.9	0.1
Turkmen SSR	16.3	271.5	360.7	300.1	209.1	122.3	25.8	4.9
Estonian SSR	38.6	171.4	123.2	60.6	27.2	6.8	0.4	-

\*Including babies born to women aged 55 and older

A comparison of these coefficients with age coefficients of births throughout the Union republics has shown that the ethnic differentiation of these indices is much bigger than the territorial one.

When analyzing age coefficients of births among women of different nationalities, two methodological difficulties should be kept in mind. 1. In civil registry offices birth is registered according to the mother's place of permanent residence. However, the data on the number of women of a certain nationality based on 1959 and 1970 censuses were obtained according to the present, not permanent, population and only during the 1979 census was the elaboration of pertinent materials made according to the permanent population. Thus, a full comparability of initial data based on the categories of the recorded population was attained for coefficients calculated for 1978-1979. For 1958-1959 and 1969-1970 coefficients the comparability of initial information according to this criterion is approximate. However, there is no basis to assume that this circumstance could seriously affect the level of indices on

a republic scale. 2. Different principles of including an individual in a certain nationality are used during a current record and a population census: During a population census the nationality of the questioned individual is recorded from his words, without the use of any documents, whereas during a current record of births the mother's nationality is determined on the basis of the entry in her passport presented during birth registration in civil registry offices. Of course, one cannot claim that during a census all women mention the nationality indicated in the passport. Discrepancies are possible in individual cases. It is doubtful whether the degree of these discrepancies, which can be the object of research for ethnic statistics, is big and noticeably reflected in the value of indices. In any case international differences in the birth level are so pronounced that the indicated methodological subtleties cannot affect the results of analysis.

The data of the forthcoming population census will make it possible to obtain similar coefficients for 1988-1989 and to perform an analysis of the differentiation in dynamics in

30 years, that is, for the period of a generation's life. In 1989 the birth level will be determined by the number of births among the daughters of women who were in the middle of the fertile age interval in 1959.

An analysis of birth coefficients in 1958-1959, 1969-1970, and 1978-1979 showed that the examined two intercensus periods were dissimilar from the standpoint of dynamics of the birth rate among individual nationalities.

During the period between 1959 and 1970 the changes in the indices of births among individual nationalities were

very different (see table 2). Among some nationalities (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanis, Lithuanians, Moldavians, and Armenians) total birth coefficients dropped, among others (Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Tajiks, Turkmens, and Estonians), rose, and among Georgians and Latvians remained at an approximately the same level. The maximum drop in total birth coefficients was observed among Armenians and Moldavians. It was also significant among Russians. A moderate drop in coefficients (of 10 to 12 percent) is characteristic of Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Lithuanians. At the same time, among all the indicated nationalities the drop in coefficients was more significant among the rural population than among the urban population.

**Table 2. Total Coefficients of Births Among Women of Principal Nationalities in the Union Republics During Years Adjoining Population Censuses (per 1,000 Women)**

Republic	Total Population			Urban Population			Rural Population		
	1958-1959	1969-1970	1978-1979	1958-1959	1969-1970	1978-1979	1958-1959	1969-1970	1978-1979
RSFSR	2438	1819	1799	1995	1680	1669	3095	2210	2293
Ukrainian SSR	2356	2130	2020	2045	1911	1824	2570	2404	2374
Belorussian SSR	2917	2366	2085	2313	2082	1879	3258	2672	2520
Uzbek SSR	6081	7478	6218	5504	5775	4292	6695	7917	7090
Kazakh SSR	7024	5787	4676	6456	4537	3740	7199	6283	5214
Georgian SSR	2405	2560	2282	1754	2246	1953	2837	2859	2689
Azerbaijan SSR	6402	5596	3925	4939	4356	3160	7362	6126	4771
Lithuanian SSR	2721	2415	2099	2276	2051	1842	3006	2917	2725
Moldavian SSR	4139	2858	2627	2874	2231	1956	4290	3022	2964
Latvian SSR	1890	1987	1972	1650	1794	1722	2251	2290	2430
Kirghiz SSR	6045	7757	6665	5489	5881	4298	6130	8129	7352
Tajik SSR	5297	7511	5708	6077	7224	4835	4721	7591	6030
Armenian SSR	4798	3054	2361	3787	2652	2171	6099	3999	2909
Turkmen SSR	6591	7685	6554	7127	6944	5581	6369	8029	7078
Estonian SSR	1951	2254	2141	1594	2031	1933	2399	2661	2546

Among groups of nationalities, in which there was a rise in total birth coefficients, only Estonians had a low birth level in 1958-1959. By 1970 their total birth coefficient rose 15 percent. In practice, however, this entire rise is due to the increase in the proportion of married women of all fertile ages.

Among principal nationalities in Central Asian republics, which in 1958-1959 were noted for the highest birth indices, there was a real rise in the birthrate among married women, which can be connected with the improvement in their state of health and in the quality of obstetric aid with the preserved traditional orientation toward a large family. This process concerned the rural population to a greater extent, determining the general dynamics of birth coefficients, because most of the population of these nationalities was rural (from 74 to 89 percent in 1959 and from 68 to 85 percent in 1970).

As a result of such a different direction in the dynamics of coefficients of births among women of principal nationalities in the Union republics during the period

between 1959 and 1970, the ethnic birth differentiation increased, especially in rural areas: in 1969-1970 the maximum value (among Kirghiz women) of the total birth coefficient exceeded its minimum value (among Russian women) 4.3-fold. The coefficients of variation of these indices increased significantly and, especially, among the rural population.

An examination of birth coefficients by ages showed that their dynamics and ethnic differentiation were most pronounced in older ages (30 years and more).

The period between 1970 and 1979 population censuses was a period of a decline in the birthrate among all nationalities both in urban settlements and in rural areas. Only among Russians and Latvians in rural areas did the favorable changes in the marriage structure of women of fertile age lead to a negligible rise in total birth coefficients. Among most nationalities the decline was

moderate. However, it was manifested to a greater degree among nationalities whose birth level was high. Birth coefficients underwent the strongest changes among the youngest ages (under the age of 20), which was connected mainly with changes in the marriage structure, and among the oldest ages, which was connected with the limitation of the number of children in the family. By 1978-1979 the international differentiation of birth coefficients was reduced—in urban areas to a greater degree than in rural areas. Nevertheless, the maximum differences in the level of indices of births among women of principal nationalities in the Union republics remained more than threefold. In 1969-1970 and 1978-1979 the minimum birth level was observed among Russians both in urban and rural areas and the maximum, among native populations in Central Asia.

Changes in the marriage structure played a significant role in the change in age and total birth coefficients. At the same time, whereas during the first examined period changes in the marriage structure contributed to a rise in the coefficients of births among all nationalities (except Kazakhs), during the period from 1970 through 1979 the favorable dynamics of the marriage structure was retained only among Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians. Among Kazakhs of fertile ages and of principal nationalities in the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus the proportion of married women dropped during that period, which contributed to a decline in birth coefficients.

A social-demographic survey of the population in 1985 revealed the dynamics and differentiation of the birth-rate in real cohorts of women grouped according to age or the year of marriage. During the survey every woman 18 years old and older was asked how many children she gave birth to and the dates of their births and, in addition, married women aged 18 to 44, how many children they intended to have in all.

The data of this survey make it possible to judge the birthrate during past years and give a tentative idea about the immediate future, as well as the rates of family formation in different population groups.

The survey showed that during the last two decades the national birthrate differentiation declined (see table 3). Marriage productivity<sup>1</sup> among principal nationalities in Central Asian republics and among Azerbaijanis declined from cohort to cohort and among nationalities with a low birth level the decline in marriage productivity slowed down and signs of stabilization and even a certain increase in it appeared. However, despite this approximation, national differences in the birth level still continue to remain significant: In the cohort of people married in 1980-1984 the average expected number of children among women of different nationalities differs more than threefold. Uzbek, Tajik, and Turkmen women, who got married during those years, intend to have more than five children per marriage, whereas among Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Jewish women this index is less than two. At the same time, in 8 out of the 17 cited nationalities it is below the level necessary for a simple reproduction of the population.

Table 3. Dynamics of Marital Birthrate Among the Most Numerous Nationalities

	Average Number of Children (Born and Expected) Among Women Married for the First Time in the Year							
	1945-1949	1950-1954	1955-1959	1960-1964	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984
Russians	2.33	2.13	2.01	1.87	1.88	1.92	1.93	1.86
Ukrainians	2.23	2.14	2.13	2.04	2.04	2.03	2.00	1.91
Belorussians	2.81	2.59	2.44	2.22	2.12	2.05	2.02	1.94
Uzbeks	5.69	6.03	6.28	6.25	6.34	5.78	5.26	5.04
Kazakhs	5.77	5.80	6.10	5.64	5.10	4.53	3.88	3.47
Georgians	2.59	2.49	2.48	2.45	2.50	2.55	2.59	2.66
Azerbaijanis	5.21	5.12	5.07	4.72	4.41	3.95	3.60	3.31
Lithuanians	2.53	2.28	2.19	2.15	2.09	2.07	2.04	1.97
Moldavians	3.48	3.23	3.17	2.88	2.68	2.67	2.56	2.34
Latvians	2.00	1.86	1.84	1.89	1.92	1.93	2.04	2.02
Kirghiz	6.09	6.28	6.56	6.51	6.59	5.90	5.23	4.80
Tajiks	6.28	6.58	6.87	6.85	7.04	6.27	5.57	5.21
Armenians	3.67	3.34	3.18	2.92	2.83	2.78	2.77	2.71
Turkmens	5.44	6.18	6.51	6.92	7.04	6.50	5.96	5.82
Estonians	2.10	1.96	1.92	2.03	2.05	2.07	2.14	2.16
Tatars	3.77	3.45	3.08	2.71	2.43	2.33	2.26	2.15
Jews	1.67	1.65	1.62	1.59	1.65	1.72	1.76	1.71

The survey has shown that many young married women are satisfied with the number of children they have and do not

intend to give birth to more. However, the proportion of such women greatly differs among individual nationalities.



Whereas among married Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, and Kirghiz women aged 25 to 34, who have three children, 80 percent intend to give birth to more, among Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Jewish women, only 10 to 13 percent. Among women of this age, who have one child, 51.2 percent of the Jewish women, 45.8 percent of the Russian women, 40.8 percent of the Latvian women, 39.2 percent of the Ukrainian women, and about 36 percent of the Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Estonian women intend to limit themselves only to the one child they have.

The survey materials have clearly determined that nationalities with a high birth level and nationalities with a low birth level realize different strategies of family formation. Whereas among nationalities with a high birth level any intended limitation of childbearing whatsoever is practised only after the attainment of the desired number of children, women of nationalities with a low birth level try not only to limit the total number of children, but also to plan the time of their appearance. As a result of the different behavior, the intervals between births among women of nationalities with a low birthrate, on the average, are higher than among nationalities with a high birth level. For example, whereas among nationalities not practising birth planning (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Azerbaijanis) the average interval between the birth of the first and the second child and between the second and the third birth ranges from 2.5 to 2.8 years, that is, is determined by natural-physiological factors, among nationalities practising birth planning (Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Tatars, and Jews) the average intervals between the births of the same order range from 4.0 to 5.2 years. Armenians and Georgians occupy an intermediary position. Among them the interval between the first and the second birth almost corresponds to the natural interval (2.9 years) and between the second and the third birth, 3.8 to 3.9 years, that is, it experiences the effect of intentional control.

From the 1960's a certain reduction in intervals between births, especially among the urban population, has been observed: The average interval between the first and the second and between the second and the third birth was reduced by approximately 0.5 years. At the same time, the age of women married for the first time dropped. As a result, from cohort to cohort among these nationalities births shifted to younger ages. Against the background of the drop or stabilization in the total average number of expected children the number of children born at young ages increased, which led to a rise in the coefficients of births during young ages and created an illusion of a rise in the birthrate.

Among nationalities with a high birth level the range of intervals between births did not change especially. At the same time, the rise in the marriage age contributed to the shifting of births to older ages and, in turn, to a decline in the birthrate.

In republics with a multinational composition of the population the dynamics of birth coefficients depends both on the birth dynamics among all the nationalities living on the territory and on the changes in their ratio in the population of a given republic, that is, on the change in the national composition of the population. In particular, this is of special significance for the urban population of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, where there is a big proportion of ethnic groups sharply differing in the birth level. For example, the drop in the coefficients of births among the entire urban population of Central Asian republics during the period from 1969-1970 through 1978-1979 was much smaller than among the urban population of principal nationalities, which was the result of the increase in the proportion of native nationalities among women of fertile age during that period.

The level of coefficients of births among principal nationalities of the Union republics and their dynamics do not make it possible to reduce individual nationalities into some stable groups. The data obtained show that the similarity in the levels of births among individual nationalities is a temporary phenomenon and their grouping is useful only for a description of the situation at a specific moment. There are general patterns in the transition from a high birthrate without its intentional intrafamily limitation to a low birthrate, but the dynamics of indices in every nationality is different and depends on history, culture, and the characteristics of the way of life.

#### Footnotes

1. Marriage productivity is an index characterizing the birthrate on the basis of the final number of births per married couple. It is calculated as the average number of children born during the entire productive period of marriage per married couple.

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**Georgian MVD Anti-Dope Procedures Sketched**  
18130031 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Gruzinform report under rubric "Militia Day": "More Than a Ton of Narcotics Liquidated"]

[Text] One night in October, criminal investigation officers were on their tour of duty at the Mleti GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] checkpoint in Dusheti Rayon. They were eagerly awaiting a "guest," for they knew that he would be coming into Georgia by this

route. The "guest" showed up at midnight. They had a meeting, and in the course of the arrest they confiscated his deadly cargo—hashish, koknar, and marijuana. An investigation is underway.

The operation, which seems easy at first glance, was the culmination of the efforts of many criminal investigation officers. The fight against narcotics addiction has become one of the main thrusts of the day-to-day activities of the criminal investigation service in the past few years. Its effectiveness has increased substantially since the adoption of the latest technical equipment. In particular, a mobile laboratory enables us to determine immediately whether a person in custody has taken narcotics, also to make an express-analysis of confiscated substances on the spot.

The Georgian militia has confiscated more than a ton of narcotics in the past five years. There was one case when they seized a whole quintal of narcotic poison at once. That happened last year, when a narcotics distribution chain finally led them to Krasnodar.

Dzhemal Dzhanaashia, a juridical sciences candidate who heads the Georgian SSR MVD Criminal Investigation Administration's Anti-Narcotics Department, has this to say: "Our republic does not have its own narcotics-growing base. Generally, narcotics are brought in from the republics of Central Asia, from Azerbaijan, Armenia, the Ukraine, North Ossetia, Rostov Oblast, and elsewhere. For this reason we are doing everything we can to expand contacts with colleagues working in other regions of the country. Only by exchanging information constantly can we block the dope distribution channels efficiently. I think it is not necessary to repeat how important this task is. Narcotics addiction not only ruins individuals but also gives birth to organized crime, because as a rule one man alone cannot engage in making, transporting, selling, and holding narcotic substances, all of which are actions subject to criminal prosecution.

#### Letters in Anticipation of Georgian Demographic Conference

18130027 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 7 Nov 88 p 1

[Letters to the editors]

[Text] Our newspaper has published the news that a conference on matters of demography is to be held on 26 November. The editors have received a number of letters in which readers offer specific suggestions. We present three of them today.

That the Georgian nation is headed toward decline is beyond doubt. Many a fiery speech on how to remedy the situation has been made from the rostrum, via the press and television, but so far practically nothing has been done.

Not long ago I heard an interview with the well-known writer Guram Pandzhikidze on the radio. He stated with alarm that by the year 2025, if our family and birthrate situation continues at today's rate, there will be 50 million Moslems in Transcaucasia, 20 million Armenians, and one million Georgians. I was doubtful about it and wondered whether I might have heard wrong; several days later I met Mr. Guram personally, and unfortunately he corroborated it.

If that's so, why are we silent? Why aren't we sounding the alarm?!

In view of the difficult situation, I propose the creation of a fund to encourage Georgian population growth and the opening of an account in all the banks of our republic. The number of the account and a specific appeal should be printed in the press and broadcast on radio and television. I am thoroughly convinced that the Georgian people will welcome this appeal and that each and every one will be glad to contribute. Later, a law should be passed stipulating that every Georgian worker and employee donate 3 percent of his monthly earnings to the fund.

It is said that over one million festive banquets are held in Georgians' homes every year to celebrate birthdays and other similar occasions. It probably takes at least 200 rubles to put on such a party. Moreover, special toasts to Georgia and to the propagation of the Georgian nation are drunk out of special glasses. The Georgian people have endured a great deal and sacrificed their personal pleasure when their homeland required it. For this reason, we ought to cut down on banquets for that purpose—we can go to a party anytime—and put the money intended for them into the fund for the nation's population growth. That would be real patriotism.

At the end of every year, the organizing committee should report to the Georgian people, in the press or on television, concerning what the money has been spent for and carry out a broad propaganda campaign. Some Georgian newspaper (most likely AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI) should add a page to publicize the issue and to publish ads by young men and women seeking marriage. Later, probably, it will be necessary to create a special newspaper.

Monies from the fund should be used to allocate 10 three-room apartments in every apartment building in every city (if the apartment building is big, that number should be doubled) for newlyweds who do not have an apartment. In rayons and villages where there are no such construction projects, young people should be given plots of land to build a home on. In addition, young architects should design dwellings for young marrieds. A law should stipulate that a substantial amount of money should be provided from the fund for third, fourth, and more children in a family.

These measures should be reported in the press to inform Georgians living abroad as well as those living in the Soviet Union. As we know, about 20,000 Georgians are living in Moscow, and it is quite likely that they will want to contribute to this great common cause.

If this undertaking is destined to be carried out (and I have no doubt that it is) not less than 8 million Georgians will be living in Georgia and not less than 12 million by the year 2025.

[Signed] Ushangi Dondzhashvili, jurist.

There are about 700 families with many children in Terzhola Rayon. It cannot be denied that some of them suffer from economic want. The other day, a good initiative was launched by Gruzagrostroy's Mobile Mechanized Column No 69 in Terzhola. They held a subbotnik and donated their earnings to a fund to help families with many children. In addition, the builders undertook to sponsor the family of Ekvtime Karkashadze, who lives in the village of Gvankiti, and they have decided to help this family build and furnish a house.

[Signed] Vano Kutladze, Terzhola Rayon.

Your newspaper article "Someone Else's Children" gave me an idea. A lot of good things are happening nowadays. Social funds are being set up to be used for useful causes. It would be a good idea to set up a fund to help families with many children. I am convinced that organizations and individual persons will be glad to donate money to such a fund. Moreover, the existence of such a fund will encourage many young people to get married and raise a big family.

Please print my proposal in your newspaper. I think that Georgians will widely respond to it.

[Signed] Vazha Goginadze, attorney, Khobi.

#### Demographic Problems Alarm GSSR Officials

##### Discussion of Falling Birth Rate

18300323 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
2 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Dr of Historical Sciences Georgiy Tsuladze, director of the department for specific ethnosociological studies of the Friendship of Nations Museum of the Georgian Academy of sciences, under the "Demography: Ways to Resolve the Problem" rubric: "Family by Design"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Georgian sociologists, who carried out a simultaneous demographic survey of children and parents, came to a disheartening conclusion. In almost every Georgian family of the next generation, according to their data, there will be one less child than in the generation of their parents. To be sure, young people as well as their seniors

have the same attitude toward large families: they consider a significantly larger number of children ideal than do representatives of some other nationalities. But the demographic behavior is not following public opinion. Why not?

The answer to this question is of considerable importance for determining general principles as well as different regional priorities in implementing the primary measures of demographic policy. The research on this is being carried out, among other scientific institutions, by the Friendship of Peoples Museum of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. The correspondent of GRUZINFORM talks with Dr of Historical Sciences Georgiy Tsuladze, director of the museum's department for specific ethnosociological studies.

[Correspondent] More attention is now being paid to the resolution of social and economic problems of the family, the young family in particular. But this is certainly not the only way! Life shows convincingly that by no means do those with the highest earnings or best living conditions have the most children. Judging from survey data, the average number of children initially "planned" by the woman for her own family does not increase with greater prosperity.

[Tsuladze] Family planning has two levels: planning from above—that is what you are talking about—and from below, from the point of view of the family members. It seems to me that our propaganda has concentrated in vain on families with many children. Extremes cannot serve as examples for everyone. Just think about what is better: to have 10 children in individual families or 4 kids in each of thousands. Two sons and two daughters, for example. This is a much more achievable goal. Such a family is attractive because of the rich interrelationships, the harmonious upbringing and the guarantee of health for the mother and children. We say that one must also propagandize such a family with an average number of children. Its lost value must be restored. Then, possibly, there can be a change in the main thing—the private family program. For the present, the desired number of children is 270 per 100 married Georgian women and fewer than that are born. There always was a gap and will be in the future. But you must agree that the larger the initial number of desired children—it exceeded 350 in the parents' generation, for example—the larger is the increase in the population. The success of the demographic policy doubtless depends upon whether there is an internal need for children in each family.

[Correspondent] Does economic reform play a role? One hears the opinion that such reforms as the rent and family contract reforms are raising the economic value of children.

[Tsuladze] Possibly. But it is still too early to make a judgment on this. It is not a mass phenomenon but primarily involves rural inhabitants. And Georgia is



characterized by a small difference in the composition of rural and urban families. It is essential to mold—I would even use the term introduce—a tendency toward a larger number of children among all strata of the population. This is an important condition for the harmonious development of the nation and its culture.

[Correspondent] It is apparent that the family itself takes part in this. Forty seven percent of surveyed parents in Georgian families told their children how many grandchildren they want. Without realizing it, they instilled their values in their children. At the same time, the share of such parents is smaller among the non-Georgian population.

[Tsuladze] The fact is that this process is taking place unconsciously. Many probably do not realize that the very first notions of what the family will be like arise in a child by the age of five. I have to admit that we did not expect this either, for this is the first time that the reproductive orientation of children at such an early age has been studied in scientific practice. "It was my father's birthday and everyone was expressing to him wishes that he would have another son and two daughters. They asked me if I wanted brothers and sisters," one of the young respondents told of his first thoughts, believing that there must be four children in the family. It would seem that this is a transitory impression but that is the way he perceived it. When we repeated the survey of school children a few years later, we found that their orientation had hardly changed as they matured. Thus, it is said, marriages must be out of love and families by design. It must be instilled gradually and delicately. Demographic education must be an integral part of the general upbringing in the family as well as in the school.

[Correspondent] Do you mean the subject "Ethics and Psychology of Family Life" introduced not so long ago in the upper classes?

[Tsuladze] It is already too late in the upper classes. I mean the overall school program. The teaching of all subjects must instill in the school children from an early age that it is necessary to have a large family to ensure a full-value life for themselves and their nation. This can be the key to any lesson, whether it be literature, history or a foreign language. Select the appropriate texts and give them the necessary interpretation. Our surveys and suggestions can suggest to the educational authorities how to change the nature of instruction in accordance with the age of the pupils and their nationality, perhaps beginning on an experimental basis. Sociologists are prepared for such cooperation. Unfortunately, the poorly informed public and the lack of a clearly expressed demographic policy have not stimulated the practical application of scientific studies. Today this is one of the main conditions for the amelioration of the demographic situation in the republic.

### Republic Commission Concerned

18300323 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
6 Dec 88 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "Demographic Problems Are the Focus of Attention"]

[Text] The governmental demographic commission under the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers held a meeting, which was chaired by O. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

Speaking at the meeting were the scientists and specialists working on demographic problems: the writers A. Apakidze, A. Dzhevakhishvili, V. Dzhaoshvili, G. Adeishvili, D. Dzeladze, G. Pirtskhalava, A. Katsadze, M. Bekaya, A. Sulaberidze, I. Abashidze, N. Adeishvili, G. Tsuladze, E. Kodya, G. Zhorzholiani and I. Begiashvili; the leading workers of state departments R. Dzharidze, O. Kakauridze and T. Ratiani; and N. Popkhadze, secretary of the Georgian SSR Communist Party Central Committee.

The businesslike and absorbing conversation at the meeting dealt with questions having to do with the development of a state program to improve the demographic situation in the republic. The speakers expressed constructive suggestions about ways to improve the demographic situation and emphasized the need to develop and implement specific measures in this direction. Particular attention was paid to the resolution of the task of demographic policy—the natural movement of the population (the birth and death rates, marriages, natural increase and length of life) and migration in the desired direction for the society. It was stated that the basic principle of demographic policy must be a comprehensive promotion of births, an increased need to have children and concern for their upbringing and health.

It was considered necessary to make a detailed study of the factors influencing the birth rate, in particular such factors as the employment of women in public production, changes taking place in the structure by sex and age, regulation of the birth rate within the family, urbanization, the level of divorces, culture and education, the age of those entering into marriage, social and economic conditions, ethnic and demographic peculiarities, and others. It was pointed out that, in taking these factors into account, appropriate measures should be outlined for the further improvement and development of the demographic processes of the population's reproduction.

One of the important tasks in demographic policy is also acknowledged to be the correct informing of the population about the demographic situation in the republic through the mass media. It was noted that demographic research must rely primarily on state statistical materials—the data of the population census and the calculation of the natural movement of the population. Also taken into account was the need to carry out special demographic surveys for the proper evaluation of the

existing demographic situation and the development of a demographic policy. It is also expedient to settle several organizational questions and to strengthen public control to ensure the obtaining of reliable data during the coming population census.

At the present time, the shortage of demographic specialists is the primary reason for the backwardness of demographic science and the incorrect informing of the population about the existing demographic situation in the republic. The participants in the meeting were unanimous in their opinion that the state program for the improvement of the demographic situation needs to pay attention to the training of demographers at the appropriate scientific centers of the country.

For the purpose of the further improvement of demographic research in the republic and the resolution of the existing problems, the members of the commission considered it necessary to establish a demographic center and the commission will examine the questions of its structure and organizational subordination in the near future.

#### **Georgian Population Declining in Armenian, Azeri Areas**

18130024 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 1 Nov 88 p 3

[Letter to editors from Giga Maisuradze, scientific associate in Agroindustrial Complex Scientific-Research Institute of Economics and Law: "A Feeling of Concern for the Fatherland"]

[Text] Among the many factors accounting for the pattern of settlement on Georgian territory, the historical factor is one of the most essential. People settled, changed their location, or returned again to their habitat in accordance with historical and political-economic circumstances.

The Georgian nation's historical development took place basically within the territory now occupied by Georgia. The Georgian people (nation) rank near the top among the nationalities of the Soviet Union which have their own state entity, in terms of their concentration within the borders of their own state territory. A total of 95.7 percent of all Georgians living in the Soviet Union are concentrated in the republic. The Georgian people are classified with the group of nationalities that do little migration. Despite the fact that there is now much more population within Georgian territory than ever before, there is still a rather large number of deserted communities, villages, and cities.

There have always been problem situations on a local scale, but our century is distinctive in that problem situations are happening on a huge scale. The most noteworthy of these is the republic's demographic situation as it has developed in certain regions.

Georgia has a population of over five million. The rate of population growth (reproduction) differs among the various nationalities living in the republic—Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Georgians, Ossetians, Abkhazians, Aysors. The fastest growth is characteristic of the Azerbaijanis; that rate is much higher in Georgia than in Azerbaijan. The Armenians also have a high rate. These nationalities are characterized by large families on the basis of old traditions. Although it is true that this tradition is preserved in Azerbaijan and Armenia as well, it shows signs of slowing there.

In 1926, the Georgians outnumbered the Armenians in the Soviet Union by 253,000 and the Azerbaijanis by 108,000. In 1979—roughly a half-century later—the Armenians outnumbered the Georgians by 621,000 and the Azerbaijanis outnumbered them by 1,946 million. According to statistics of that year, the Azerbaijanis numbered 5.477 million, the Armenians 4.151 million, and the Georgians 3.531 million. Today only 68 percent of the inhabitants in Georgian territory are Georgians; in Armenia, 90 percent are Armenians.

The Georgian nation has traveled a long and very difficult historical path. Every page of our past has been written with the sweat and blood that was shed in the labor and struggle for our territorial integrity, a better life, and freedom. If the number of Georgians in Georgia continues to decline at such a rate, it is quite possible that Georgians could wind up being a minority in our own republic.

In terms of the complexity of patterns of ethnic settlement in the republic's territory, as well as a number of other problematic demographic situations, the southern highland zone merits special attention. Along with other territorial units, this zone includes the old historical province of Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia. Historically this district was the Georgian's habitat from ancient times. Today, however, Georgian communities add up to insignificant numbers in Akhalkalaki, Dmanisi, Adigeni, Bogdanovka, Tsalka, Aspindza, and Akhaltsikhe rayons, with the majority of the population consisting of Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and Greeks. Noteworthy among demographic characteristics is the steady growth of the Moslem population. The rate of natural increase of the Azerbaijani and Armenian populations is three to four times higher than that of the Georgian population. The slowing of the native Georgian population's natural increase did not begin all of a sudden. Naturally, this negative tendency makes us rightly apprehensive of Georgian depopulation in the midst of a majority population of other nationalities.

According to the latest (1979) census, 400 Georgians were living in Bogdanovka Rayon, 1710 in Tsalka Rayon, and only 487 of the students in Akhalkalaki schools were Georgian. Considering this circumstance, it is essential to do systematic individual work with the native Georgian population and take concern for the fate

of every family and every person. Organs of local administration must get more actively involved in the normal, vital interests of these people, although it is difficult to place much hope in these organs, since they include very few Georgians.

Most of the Georgian population in the rayons listed above feel like foreigners in their own land. Moreover, they are cut off from their strongest source of national nourishment—their mother language. Some of them speak Georgian so badly that it breaks your heart to hear it. Despite the fertility of the land, the painful process of desertion of the villages also affects this district. The number of small and medium-sized villages has declined especially. The number of villages with 100 inhabitants or fewer has dropped by almost one half. In some villages which used to have 100 to 200 households, today you will find barely 10 households. There are some villages where the last hearth died out some time ago.

The painful process of depopulation of the villages is accompanied by a no less disturbing factor. The magnificent monuments of material and spiritual culture that so abundantly dot the countryside of Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia remain practically abandoned and uncared-for. The Church of Saint George in the village of Chorchan is in deplorable shape as is the 13th-century church in the village of Boladzhuri and other ones in Patara Smala, Shoka... The Cathedral of Zarzma is more than just a remarkable monument of our architecture; it is a monument of Georgian glory. Wherever the Georgian population is small in numbers, monuments are uncared-for—for example, the church at Kumurdo. Vardzia, Sapara, and Chule are relatively well cared for.

The small size of the Georgian population and the largeness and variety of the other peoples are the direct result of the troubles visited upon this district in the late 16th century, when it was taken from Georgia, lost its independence, and became a valiyet of Turkey. The population began to migrate from their homeland en masse and settle in Kartli; those who remained behind, despite their resistance, were Moslemized. Tatars, Tarkams, and Kurds moved in and settled among the remaining Georgians. They settled there in large numbers, and Lezgians also mingled with the Turkish population. The Meskheta degenerated in his own homeland; traditional farming methods and way of life disintegrated. The cathedrals, churches, and monasteries were wrecked. To this day there are places in Meskheta where Georgian churches whose walls are decorated with the grapevine motif and Christianity's great symbol—the cross—have been converted into mosques.

Georgia and the Georgian nation are hopeful of reviving the historic district of Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia. But this process must start with growth of the Georgian population. Grounds for our hope are seen in the fundamental

traditions which the villages of Greli, Ude, Andriatsminda, Arali, Apnia, Gogasheni, Vale, Kotelia, Atskuri, Muskhi, Chunchkha, Dzveli, Khizabavra, Artani, Toloshi, and Saro have still managed to preserve.

Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia is historically the most glorious and at the same time most painful part of Georgia. Ilia Chavchavadze, the nation's great champion, wrote "Meskheta presented a remarkable, proud spectacle in Georgian history; our former life flourished here, our vitality was vigorous here, the strength of our soul hoisted its renowned banner here; this land is virtually the cradle of our spirit's excellence, and it is also the tomb of our former humanity."

Georgian young people are vitally interested in the fate of Meskheta-Dzhavakhetia today and tomorrow. I should like especially to mention the student body of Tbilisi State University, whose dedication and involvement in settling any of the problem situations of this district are truly worthy of emulation.

The main foundation of Georgians' spiritual and physical existence has always been, is, and will be the greatest feeling of concern for the fatherland and its renaissance, upon which the nation's creed has been built throughout the centuries.

#### Georgian Demographic Figures Compared with Armenia, Azerbaijan 18130041

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 13 November 1988 carries on page 2 under the rubric "Demography: Just One Child?" Ilia Begiashvili's 1100-word article titled "For the Nation's Future," which presents the author's thoughts on Georgia's demographic problems and how to cure them. A small chart compares the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani populations in 1950 and 1980 and gives their respective growth rates in that period as percentages. For Azerbaijan, the figures are 2.9 million, 6.1 million, and 210.3 percent; Armenia, 1.3 million, 3.1 million, and 238.4 percent; for Georgia, 3.5 million, 5 million, and 142.8 percent. The author states that Georgia's rather low growth rate would be adequate if it were located, say, in the Baltic region—but it lies in Transcaucasia, and hence its demography problem must be viewed from that standpoint.

Begiashvili hails the creation of the Georgian Demography Fund and hopes that it will turn things around. He believes that negative phenomena such as corruption, bureaucratism, and competing for material wealth instead of raising big families, have brought Georgia to this plight. Not only material aid but social support is needed for young families. Voluntary donations to the Fund need to be bolstered by profitable enterprises and farms whose earnings would feed it. Begiashvili laments that while many ordinary workers regularly contribute



personal or collective savings to funds like this, very few higher-ups do—kolkhoz chairmen, enterprise directors, procurators, judges and the like. He himself herewith contributes 2000 rubles.

### **Dismal Conditions in Children's Summer Camps Described**

18080013 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian  
3 Dec 88 p 1

[Letter by Baiba Martinsone on behalf of 4th-year teachers' training students at the Latvian State University Department of Biology: "What Should We Do With the Young Pioneer Summer Camps?"]

[Text] At the present time, many important issues are being discussed. Therefore, we offer for discussion an issue that is much less considered, namely, that of the children's summer camps in Latvia. Until recently, we ourselves were not aware of this problem, but this year, during our summer practical work in the Murjani and Salacgriva young pioneer summer camps, we got a relatively complete picture of the problem.

Firstly, what are the goals of these summer camps? To be honest, there were no goals in the activities of these two summer camps. Days passed in accordance with a schedule, certain organized activities took place, but one can say with confidence that the summer spent by the children in the camp have not brought them closer to the young pioneer organization and have not given them any new knowledge or skills.

In our opinion, the great age differences of the children (from 6 to 14-year olds) make the camps' work difficult to organize. The 6-year olds attend the same groups with much older children. The peculiarities of different age groups are ignored. For example, the little children are involved in real pioneer life, while the day's schedule for the 14-year olds includes mandatory rest after lunch. A principle of egalitarianism is being enacted. In any case, the little ones receive a wrong and distorted view of the pioneer life, but we will discuss it later.

We were especially shocked by the general conditions of the summer camps. For example, the Murjani summer camp has not changed its outside appearance since 1949, when it was organized. There are several generations who consider communal apartments and outhouses a norm of life, and consider hot-running water a luxury. This attitude is strictly observed in the Murjani summer camp. Each room houses 10 children. Only items of personal hygiene are allowed in the night stands, but if one needs to change clothing, he is to go to a special room, where the children's bags are stored. To wash up in a normal way is impossible, because the cold water faucets are located outside, and boys and girls wash at the same time. When it gets dark, the teachers and their assistants take their turn washing. The table culture is very low in the Salacgriva summer camp, namely, food is served only on metal plates, forks are seldom used.

Parents, who send their children to the camps, have very surprising attitudes. Some small children are sent without the most elementary items of hygiene and even more often without a change of underwear or without toilet paper. Many are not accustomed to such a procedure as washing up at night. In short, some children come to the camp unable to take care of themselves. The first week was devoted to teaching everybody to sleep on bed sheets and to undress before going to bed (this was especially true for the girls). Of course, such children are not the only ones in the summer camps, but it was here, outside the home, where the negligent bringing up by parents became obvious. Children and teenagers are not taught the most important thing, namely, the need for cleanliness and intolerance toward carelessness. Many of the children have not acquired in their families the sense of their sex, which is expressed in certain attitudes and observance of certain behavioral norms.

We expected to see great activity on the part of the younger children, but we were mistaken. On the contrary, their apathy and lack of interest made us think. It seems, we found the cause. There was hardly any child who had not been in the camp before. The majority comes year after year, and a some of them remains for several terms. Some parent's have to use physical force to bring their children to the camps. On the other hand, some children are happy to come here, because it is a way to escape the unhealthy conditions existing in their families. At the same time, the plan of activities in the camp remains the same year after year, that is, competitions in tourism, sports, hide-and-seek games etc.

The 9 to 10-year old pioneers like to wear the red neckerchiefs and generally respect the pioneer symbols, so why should people distort their image of the pioneer life? The Salacgriva camp is officially considered to be a health improvement camp, so, in short, the pioneers are some kind of an "addition" to the sports camp. There was no pioneer life at all. To the contrary, the Murjani camp had some pioneer events. Unfortunately, they were very artificial.

### **What are our proposals?**

1. To organize summer camps for work and rest, or sports and health improvement, to replace today's pioneer camps. For the younger children (under age 10) camps of a sanatorium or a rest home-type should be organized. In any case, regardless of what they will be called, their activities should justify their names.
2. Every camp should select a concrete goal. The purposeless, indeterminate activities must stop.
3. The material support of the camps must be improved. Appropriate facilities conforming to the modern requirements must be built for the camps.

4. People with special education, rather than college students training to be teachers who are sent to practice, must work in the camps.

5. Camp managers must have the right not to accept mentally retarded children or those, who are brought by their parents completely unprepared, or sick.

6. The young pioneer organization should independently organize its own camps, with respective activities, instructions for work, and goals. If it is impossible to do so, then it is better not to organize camps under the name of the young pioneers at all.

**Special Problems of Gypsies in USSR Noted**  
18300308 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 4 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondents G. Mironova and A. Trushkin: "Where The Gypsy Camp Extends"]

[Text] This article is an attempt to tell about the present-day life of a people with the richest of histories and traditions, with a clearly defined, unique culture. It is not pursuit of the next sensation, not simply a desire to uncover yet another biting theme, that prompted our journalists to take up their pens. In our view, it is specifically glasnost, which must help in the solution of many painful problems.

At the cemetery in Khabarovsk there is an elaborate monument of black marble. It depicts a young man, at whose feet there is a vase which contains a bottle of champagne. They say that the person buried here is a gypsy baron.

"But he was no kind of baron," an old gypsy woman testified energetically. "We, his relatives, simply collected money and put up a monument. Rumors, all rumors."

And, indeed, what kind of barons are there in our time?

"Give me money, my dear, and I will tell your future!"

"Chewing gum. Eye shadow. Spangles. Chewing Gum!"

"Do you need a watch?"

The gypsies walk confidently through the bazaar, with masses of children trailing behind, letting nobody by, offering their wares. The prices, at first glance, are fantastically high, but people no longer fall into shock. They have somehow grown used to this. And a person who badly needs something that is not in the stores can get it from these chiselers. Lipstick—ten rubles, eye shadow—fifteen, sunglasses—thirty-five. And so it goes, year after year. Everyone knows that this is speculation.

"Where is the militia looking?"—this exclamation is heard whenever somebody has routinely been taken. They say this, of course, not only about the Khabarovsk militia. The workers of the Administration of Internal Affairs [UVD] are secretly proud of the fact that, during recent years, not a single one of the many gypsy camps has made an appearance here, in our city. The defending forces have met them on the outskirts and the operational workers have done a good job of convincing the noisy crowds to turn back. Chiefs of train terminals and stations, in a timely way and without reporting it, as if in response to an approaching natural calamity, have made railroad cars available and have not asked for tickets. It can even be understood why. Indeed, if, even in a large city, an increase in crime can be noticed with the arrival of a gypsy camp, then certainly the world is all the more likely to come to an end at the station. But it is not the accepted thing to do to talk aloud about such measures.

The entire history of this people is studded with insults, large and small. Driven, for some reason, out of India, the gypsies for long centuries have not succeeded in finding shelter for long, in settling down on the land, anywhere in Europe. They have been shuffled around, like a deck of cards: From Spain, they were dumped from English ships onto the desolate coasts of Norway. Romanian nobles forcibly turned them into serfs. From Scotland, they were transported to the tobacco plantations of Jamaica. From Portugal - to Angola. From Poland—to Russia... Practically nowhere, the whole time, have the gypsies been permitted to be themselves. This is the basis of a great dichotomy—in public, the gypsy woman conducts herself provocatively; at home, she is a quiet, work-loving housekeeper and a faithful wife. (Changes of marriage partners are a rare phenomenon here, right up to the present time.) In the "outside world", the gypsy can deceive and steal; in the camp, he is honest to the point of punctiliousness. (The gypsy court, the "kris", similar to a jury, punishes perjury severely—by banishment.)

The Revolution was a blow to many gypsies. They closed down the restaurants and the taverns. Collectivization disrupted the horse trading. Industrialization put an end to their cottage industry.

And nonetheless it was specifically under Soviet power that, for the first time in the world, a government concerned itself with the problems of gypsies. Moscow alone saw the organization of more than thirty gypsy artels, where they tinned pots and plates and dishes, did metalwork, dyed shawls, put together furniture, barrels. In 1925, a new central institution was established—the All-Russian Union of Gypsies. With this very important event, new times began for the "wanderers". In 1926, a written gypsy language was created and subsequently textbooks came out, schools were built, and teacher-training courses were started. Already at this time, the social and political journals ROMANY ZORYA and NEVO DROM were being read in the gypsy camps, a

gypsy section was formed within the Moscow Association of Proletarian Writers, and collection of poetry was published. There were also clubs, schools. A theater...

Researchers have made note of the disintegration of the gypsy camps. But it was the war that, in a powerful vortex, lifted the gypsy families from the places they lived and spread them throughout the entire country. To the present day, we have not succeeded in stilling this whirlwind

There are not many, even among jurists, who will recall the Decree of 1956 which said: As a result of measures taken by the Soviet state to establish vagrant gypsies in jobs, to improve the conditions of their lives, to raise their cultural level, a majority of them have turned to a laboring, settled way of life. However, a certain portion of the gypsies continues to engage in vagrancy, to lead a parasitical way of life, and frequently to commit crimes." The decree forbade the gypsies to lead a vagrant life and obligated the councils of ministers in the republics to settle them in permanent places of residence and to find them work. A deadline was given for this—three months. And the decree also established the penalty for noncompliance—five years exile with corrective labor. In 1956, times continued to be harsh; they moved decisively against them, once and for all. And even the fact that the law punished on the basis of nationality did not stop them. Today, after 30-plus years, this seems unbelievable, although the sad preamble "continues to engage in," etc. can also be applied to our own times. Wandering gypsies, in their true sense, have practically ceased to exist, but the problem has remained in its primitive form. The decree was in effect for six years. The RSFSR Legal Code, which was subsequently approved, already contained general clauses dealing with parasitism and vagrancy, albeit less harsh ones. The "Gypsy Decree" was thus annulled and was forgotten.

"In order to establish order, it is necessary to issue a special law concerning the gypsy," a young operations officer from the criminal investigations unit said. He spoke harshly and is by no means alone in his opinion. It is strange, of course, that old ideas taken from the legal attic are now being born anew in people's minds. But, indeed, it is just as obvious that the militia, on the basis of "one law for all," is unable to cope even with gypsy speculation that is out in the open, and this should not come as a surprise.

"Just let us arrest a gypsy who is selling cosmetics at the market and you will see for yourself," suggested the conversationally cautious major who is responsible for public order in the city. There is no need to stage a demonstration. The citizens of Khabarovsk have already had occasion to witness such startling scenes: the soul-rendering cries, the weeping of the young children without whom a gypsy woman will seldom go to the bazaar, the wide and distracted eyes of the honest people. At

some point or another, these same honest people have been unable to restrain themselves and have joined the chorus of friends of the arrestee to shout in anguished tones: "Let the woman go!"

"During the past year 75 protocols have drawn up in Khabarovsk concerning "persons of gypsy nationality" in violation of the rules of trade and small-scale speculation. All of them, as being papers of limited significance, were returned to the department of internal affairs by the secretary of the soviet executive committee administrative commission. Where have you ever seen a gypsy who would come to a meeting? And her geographical coordinates will be extremely approximate. Perhaps she is already in Astrakhan or Rostov-na-Donu, Kishinev, or Odessa. And even if she is in Khabarovsk? About 10 or 15 years ago, "our own" gypsies appeared in Khabarovsk and began to buy up vacant houses along Voronezhskoye Shosse. But there too, not a single divisional inspector will even try to identify a specific person. Registered in one place, real home—in another. I dare you to figure out how many families are living in each house. All will say in a single voice: "Guests arrived yesterday." Or that so-and-so has gone away, but she will be standing right there."

The majority of gypsies are Christians and have a heightened conception of religious duty, although they do not go to church. The gypsies consider abortion to be a sin. They marry early, so that each will be able to have from five to ten children. How do you feed such a family? Even master machinists, who earn 400 rubles a month, are forced to use all their free time in search of money "on the side." And they earn a living doing this, sometimes a decent one.

"I remember that, in my childhood, the gypsies went from house to house with their children: Give something to feed the children"—an senior ObKhSS operations officer, Andrey Arkhipov, told us. "The mother always took it, even when there was not nearly enough. So all the time people believed that gypsies are poor, that they have to be pitied." He took a package containing lipstick from the safe and laid it on the table. "They picked up 106 tubes at the market. But, of course, everyone refused to claim the bag. Packages containing sale goods, and a suitcase full of eyeglasses have ended up in the hands of the militia, but the trail was broken. The system is a well-known one: The goods are bought somewhere and are then sent by courier or through the mail to the Far East where, after they have been divided up into parts, they are sold by women with children or by youngsters, who are not punished particularly by the law."

"No, the gypsies are not a poor people. Large sums are on the move," says Captain Arkhipov. "But our vain efforts are leading nowhere. Those who sit above them decide everything, but we are seeking compromises of some sort."



On the day of an organizational presidium of the kray party committee, when the question of a first secretary was being decided, a crowd of gypsies appeared on Lenin Square. Several days back, in a far northern rayon, the attention of the militia had been attracted by people who were going from house to house with bags and selling home-made things, but with seam-work that was close to industrial quality. They were not able to explain where the items had come from. They had no patents for their manufacture or authorizations for their sale. On the authority of the procurator, the things were confiscated pending clarification of the circumstances. Clarifications were not necessary. After the noise on the square, a command was given to "look into the situation." The confiscated items were immediately returned and the case materials were sent to the archives. "If any other citizen had been in this situation, it would have been mandatory to take measures," the chief of the rayon militia department was vexed, "but as there was the plenum, some comrade from Moscow, and suddenly the gypsies... they threw up their hands, in order not to get involved. Things turned out the way that the gypsy camp had planned, everything had been calculated by them."

In the first place, if even the smallest problem comes up that has nationality undertones, they freeze with fear on the local level. For decades they have been declaring that our Leninist nationalities policy has triumphed. Therefore, they tried to cover up the problem using any means. In the second place, there is a condescending attitude toward certain small peoples, like, for example, the one toward enfeebled children, who cannot be placed on an equal level with healthy ones. One plus the other, and so they throw up their hands: Let them do what they want, just as long as they get out of here as quickly as possible.

Not all, of course, but some gypsies know this.

It would seem that we know a great deal about the gypsies. Their songs and the "Romen" theater are popular and practically the country's entire population gathered around their television sets for the series on Budulaya. But there is no place you can find out how many gypsies there are living in the country, or how many are leading a normal, laboring life style. And even we, we confess, do not write much about this.

Preservation of that which is national is, it seems, a sacred matter. But of what that is national? Are there really, it is stressed, talented horse-breeders, master metal workers, artists in these gypsy clans? And can't a legal outlet be found for their penchant for dealing? During the past year in Khabarovsk, we have noted with satisfaction that gypsies from Odessa have come to sell goods from the Gloriya cooperative there, with stamps and documents, everything in just as it should be. From Rostov-na-Donu they have brought remarkable jewelry, home-made, manufactured according to patent, everything in order. An entirely new path has appeared—the cooperatives. But if, from all the national characteristics, we pick out only external features and their worst habits,

then the goals will become different. Not preservation of that which is national, but a convenient cover-up and, within the community, subordination and the preordained destiny of each individual. The clan itself is also adhering to this in maintaining its aristocracy and its lower strata. We will not confuse the clan with the people.

Speculation, swindling, stealing from pockets and apartments, selling stolen items—the list of income sources is long enough. Investigator, Captain Gennadiy Petrov, the recognized specialist in gypsy questions within the city's criminal investigative unit, has had to deal with very archaic cases. For example, with horse theft. True, the horses were sold at a good profit to the meat combine. And several years ago he was commended for having found, at the other end of the country, a little girl who for almost a year had been the subject of a nationwide search. She had been kidnapped and taken away by a gypsy woman who had three children of her own. Why? Possibly in order to get her ready for some purpose that she did not want to use her own for.

The militia proceeds on the basis of traces of crimes that have already been committed. But the modern gypsy camp no longer disappears into thin air. Now it has its roots somewhere, or at least a home base. The Khabarovsk settlement is just such a one. Despite all the clannishness of gypsies, much can be noticed of their everyday life. Working families are apparent, as are those strong homes within which, as in a beehive, a secret life hums. Boldly dressed gypsy women go loudly to the bazaar and, during the day, the well-groomed, idle men can be glimpsed within the settlement. Basically, all the children of the settlement go to school. "Nice, good, quite good in their studies," the teachers praise them, but for some reason do not react to the wild things that happen with these children. They don't send a teenage girl to school. "Her head is weak; she will help at home," says the mother, and this is o.k. A boy in the third class chucks his studies—Maybe he'll come back tomorrow? A girl in the sixth class is married off—This is common. The director meets a girl who is his own student in the market. "This is necessary," she says. Is this possible that this is necessary?

The teachers do not interfere. "During the four years that I have been working, one gypsy was called up to the Army," said a department chief in the rayon military committee. This despite the fact that the families have many children and almost a third of the pupils in the eight-year school are gypsies. But they call up only those who are on the books. And these others—it is as if they evaporate.

Don't get involved, don't interfere—This is the position that is taken today. Behind it lies the usual fright when anything that has to do with nationality comes up. Sometimes a problem appears where there is none. And an urgent one may not be noticed. We have closed our eyes for so long that we have become blind and it is

perhaps therefore that specific social groups are appearing, which are being confused with nationalism, which we consider to be true gypsy groups, and whose crimes we attribute to the entire people. It is not a special law for the gypsies that is needed. God preserve us from such laws. What is needed is that the general ones work.

A proposal has been heard—to begin again to issue the books in the gypsy language, which have disappeared to nobody knows where, to put out a newspaper, to provide time on radio and television. No, the gypsies do not demand their own autonomous republic, national schools, and technical high schools. But the 200,000 - 300,000 gypsies scattered throughout the Soviet Union (their precise number is still not known) can only together escape the doubtful prospects of their present lives. And also only together can they preserve their already partially lost culture: their songs, their dances, their oral folklore. In any serious matter, it is necessary to have a directing unit. Perhaps it is worth examining the question of creating a gypsy representation of the type of the republic permanent representations [postpredstvo].

"You, divisional inspector, are our baron," the peasant women who had surrounded the man in uniform flattered him.

The baron is always in the shadows. Not mythical, not out of an operetta, a real leader.

**NEWSWEEK, TIME Magazines Moved from Library to MFA, Readers Complain**  
18300328a *Franze: SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*  
in Russian 6 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by S. Konoplev, military translator: "When 'TIME' Said 'Goodbye'..."]

[Text] We already know how glasnost can be kept in check. You do not have to go far for an answer. Just take the limitations on subscriptions in 1988. True, this question has already been decided. Now everyone can read the publication that he likes. In the Russian, Kirghiz, and other languages of the people of the USSR, and if there is a desire, in foreign languages as well.

The foreign publications INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TIMES, GUARDIAN, and others have appeared on the newsstands of the capital of the republic. At one of the central newspapers, the director of the central agency SOYUZPECHAT reported that the American weekly magazine NEWSWEEK will be widely sold in the capitals of all republics starting in January 1989. This is one of the most influential socio-political magazines, similar to our NOVOYE VREMYA. Incidentally, articles from NEWSWEEK appear frequently in translation on the pages of ZA RUBEZHOM, and our international specialists quote this magazine extensively. Its publishers assert that it is "a magazine for everyone".

Though not everyone holds this opinion. For example, D. Sarbagisheva, the secretary of the Kirghiz SSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs].

Without doubt 1988 can be called the year of active glasnost. One of the most important events of the year was the decision about opening up library special holdings division [spetskhran]. Together with books, foreign periodical publications with blue hexahedron symbols in the corner were issued from there. The very thing that previously made them inaccessible to "the mass reader". In all libraries of the country, many formerly "closed" publications now quietly stand on the shelves and are given out without any kind of special permits, admissions and authorizations.

This is exactly the way the matter stood in the Kirgizskaya State Library imeni V. I. Lenina. The time came when the glossy TIME and NEWSWEEK had their own place on the shelf of the foreign literature reading room. But they did not succeed in acquiring a permanent residence. These magazines were accessible to everyone for 4 months. Afterwards, comrade Sarbagisheva required that they be stored in the MID only. And L. Krylova, the chief of the foreign language literature division, tried in vain to keep the magazines there where they are supposed to be—in the library.

"The magazines were subscribed to with money allocated to us by a special resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Kirghiz SSR. It is difficult for us to work without them," were the arguments that guided the secretary who was trying to get her way. The decision of R. Turdukeyeva, library deputy director, was in favor of the MID. And the mass reader had to say "goodbye" to the magazines.

"TIME and NEWSWEEK enjoyed considerable reader demand," says L. Timofeyeva, the senior bibliographer of the foreign language literature division. Look at the reader records—dozens of names. Here there are translators and teachers, and people of various professions. Even today readers ask for TIME. Explanations that the magazines are now kept in the MID surprises them. Our regular reader, V. Sokolov, a cameraman in the Kirghiz film studio, said: "It means that a falsehood was printed in the newspapers, that now these magazines are accessible to everyone?"

How is he to be answered?

Attempting to find out whose money was really used to subscribe to these magazines and where they were supposed to be kept, I went to the republic's Gosplan.

B. Amanov, the chief of the department of science and technology of the Kirghiz SSR Gosplan, explained in detail how subscriptions for [foreign] currency publications are conducted.

There is a definite procedure for acquiring and using foreign literature. The Kirghiz SSR State Library imeni V. I. Lenin acquires foreign publications, taking into consideration the specific desires of the Union of Artists, the State Committee for National Education, "Kyyal" associations of people's artistic trades, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other groups of readers.

Here is an excerpt from a document of the republic's Gosplan: "Procedure for using foreign literature purchased by the Kirghiz SSR State Library imeni V. I. Lenin". Foreign Literature is used by readers for work in the reading room or, if ordered at the request of an organization, it is issued for temporary use according to subscription to a person entrusted by that organization after the presentation of a letter of authorization [doverennost]. The period of use should not exceed 1-2 months. Foreign publications purchased by libraries of the Kirghiz SSR on the currency allocations account are used by all readers of the republic, irrespective of who desired or requested their acquisition. (My emphasis—S. K.).

In answer to the question whether he considered it legal that TIME and NEWSWEEK must be kept in the MID, B. Amanov answered: "It is absolutely illegal."

This opinion is also held by A. Divinskiy, senior scientific associate of the central scientific research laboratory of the medical institute.

"It is difficult to understand what MID was guided by when it took over the magazines. I also need them. Each issue has sections on science and medicine. I do not believe that TIME and NEWSWEEK are specialized magazines intended only for diplomats. In addition to basic duties, I am also responsible for conducting lectures on politics. And I found a lot of interesting material in these magazines.

It should be added that specialized magazines on medicine, design and architecture are also maintained in the library.

And this satisfies everyone.

G. Termasova, a docent and English language teacher at the Kirghiz State University, is also surprised that the magazines disappeared from the reading room:

"We teachers and translators need them very much. People from other professions will also find interesting articles there. I hope that MID understands this."

However, both sides in an argument have to be heard. And my next visit was to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to look into the fate of the "missing" publications.

"There were no problems in the past. No one questioned that these magazines were ours," said D. Sarbagisheva. ("In the past"—this is when the magazines were kept in

the special holdings division.) We wrote a letter and sent it to the managers of enterprises which (in MID's opinion) could also familiarize themselves with TIME and NEWSWEEK. Now we have set up our own special holdings division," adds D. Sarbagisheva. "And now everyone who is on the list can come here and work."

"Here" is in the office of the secretary of MID. Or in the corridor, where there are a table and two chairs. Inconvenient? But what can be done. . . The special holdings division died—long live the special holdings division!

And the final stroke. From the time workers in the foreign literature reading room were prohibited from taking these magazines, the magazines are stacked in bundles on the shelves of the acquisitions division. Because no one comes for them. . .

#### Soviet-German Migration to West Germany Discussed

18300328b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by R. Khelimskeya, Kanskiy Rayon, Frunze: "Contacts. Meeting in Lyuksemburg"]

[Text]

#### Why Are They Leaving?

He learned from a conversation in the embassy this day that documents were drawn up for 800 persons: 250 families decided to move to the FRG to become permanent residents.\* Such a volume of work confronts embassy officials with a number of organizational tasks.

Why are Soviet Germans leaving?

This question was raised repeatedly by members of the Social Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany who recently visited Kirgiziya.

In the first place, with the Germans themselves.

The reality of our days: deputies of the West German parliament are talking with residents of a German village in Kirgiziya. It is unlikely that the reading and recreation room of the dairy products firm of the kolkhoz "Labor" of the Kantskiy Rayon saw such a thing before.

The Germans constitute more than 18.5 percent of the multinational population of the rayon. There are more than 2,700 communists in the rayon party organization. Of these, Germans constitute 9.5 percent. Undoubtedly, a role was played here by well-known deformations in national relations and, we will be frank, by the ambiguous and at times guarded attention to the Soviet Germans that was characteristic of the postwar decades.



Our countrymen asked about things that disturbed them. For example, Anetta Zel is worried about why she "is not allowed to go to her aunt," and Ivan Fedorovich Miller is concerned about the fate of his brother who disappeared in 1929.

What else did the residents of the village Lyuksemburg want to know "firsthand"?

How are immigrants provided for with apartments, and do they have to wait a long time? Will there be restrictions for entry into the FRG? Do former citizens of the USSR take an active part in the social life of West Germany? In what way is resettlement from other countries legalized? Questions from both sides were frank, and, it seems, the answers were also. ("The conversation was frank," Karsten Foygt, the leader of the group, will say afterwards.)

No, the authoritative West German guests explained, there are no restrictions and there will be none on entry for the purpose of reunion with relatives, and there is no kind of a lock. Though we cannot guarantee work for everyone. We do not need agricultural workers—our agricultural workers themselves are not always assured of work. The level of unemployment is different in every region, but the problem of lack of work exists. No, former Soviet Germans do not engage in politics, nor, incidentally, in social life as well. A majority of them have other, everyday living problems. . .

"The problems are growing," Karsten Foygt emphasizes. "Previously residents of West Germany said: 'Why are Soviet Germans not allowed to go to the FRG?' But now you can hear more frequently: 'Why are there so many of them?'" There is a reason for such a statement of the question.

And, still, why are the Germans leaving the USSR? I did not hear an answer either in the kolkhoz or in meetings with the representatives of the German intelligentsia. Neither specific, nor subjective, nor arguable—no kind. Yes, the Federal Republic of Germany occupies the third place in the world in standard of living. Yes, the Federal Republic of Germany is a rich country. And if it is supposed that this fact along with motives for reunion play a decisive role, then why not say so out loud?

But there was no answer. And to the angry retort of an elderly kolkhoznik sitting next to me about "cheating by all the chiefs," because of whom, and only because of whom, it is necessary to change one's place of residence, the guests, breaking out in laughter, remarked that the dishonesty of individual officials, unfortunately, is an international problem.

"We came here not to give you any kind of advice. We are politicians from another state and do not have a right to do this. But you must understand the situation in our country before deciding on a move," Karsten Foygt said.

Constrained by an apparent lack of time, the representatives of the legislature of the FRG, members of the largest party in the Federal Republic, nonetheless, tried to derive an objective picture of the position of Germans in Kirgiziya.

K.-Kh. Rozen, an executive of the personal office of Willi Brandt, honorary chairman of the SDPG, was interested, for example, in facts of discrimination and the infringement of rights in work employment, enrollment in training, etc.

"And with us, in the FRG, not all problems have been resolved yet," says Klaus-Khenning Rozen. "But I get the impression that the Soviet Germans have the opportunity to live and work freely there where they live, and that they are working at this time. . . My boss did much for the normalization of relations between the FRG and the USSR, and our common task is to support and develop them.

"In the post of federal chancellor, Brandt actively participated in the signing of the treaty of 12 August 1970 between the USSR and the FRG. It confirmed the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe, and it contained a rejection of the use of force in the resolution of disputable questions. We also know about the Nobel Peace Prize that was awarded to Willi Brandt in 1971, and about his participation in the resistance movement.

"The Soviet Union helped defeat fascism. Fascism must never be repeated. Surmounting postwar problems will strengthen even further the position of the Germans in our country."

### Everyone Has His Problems

Is the attitude toward the Germans changing?

Yes, answered Vasilii Klyuger and Aleksandr Shits—respectively, secretary of the party committee of the kolkhoz "Labor" and director of the Luxembourg 10-year school. Klyuger was a delegate to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. He voted for a resolution that talks about the historically important task of persistently affirming and creatively developing Leninist norms and principles of national policy and decisively ridding them of artificial accretions and deformations. About the fact that nationalities that do not have their own state-territorial formations should receive more opportunity for realizing national and cultural needs and about the free development and equal use of mother tongue by all citizens of the USSR. German as a mother tongue is being studied in schools in the villages of Lyuksemburg and Internatsionalnoye, and today the desire of the parents is one of the main reasons for preserving the language.

In September 1987 at a "round table" meeting in Sokuluk, deputies of the rayon and village soviets—Germans, handed an open letter to Kh. Zilaff, leader of the group from the FRG and a deputy of the Bundestag, which was addressed to the members of the SDPG, to functionaries of the organization "Cooperation with Eastern Europe" (TsMO) and to citizens of the FRG.

Handing Khorst Zilaff an issue of SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA with materials of the Sokuluk meeting, I inquired about the fate of the open letter of our deputies and the attitude of the West German public to the problems raised in it.

"I transmitted the text of the appeal of the deputies from Kirgiziya to Doctor Gans-Yokhen Fogel, the chairman of the SDPG. The regional newspaper REYNPFALZ published an article in three issues with photos of the journalist Peter Gartz, who was in our group. On the eve of the present trip to your republic, speaking to a regular session of the Bundestag, I said that no one wants to deny assistance to those arriving. However, the impression must not be created that, because of the resettlement policy, citizens of the FRG who need help are being forgotten. According to my observations, disenchantment in the FRG is greater when people know less about the actual picture in our country. If we want to conduct a responsible policy with respect to immigrants, we must create a real picture about the situation in the FRG, and not only about its "chocolate side." Otherwise, the danger of isolating these people instead of integrating them is inevitable."

The experience of work with the immigrants, the letters that the chief of the TsMO receives from Germans in southern and eastern Europe (which raise an alarm with respect to the disappearance in their countries—because of departures—of entire layers of national culture), and the personal impressions from trips made it possible for Kh. Zilaff to express the opinion that the policy of the Federal Republic with respect to ethnic Germans should be based on two principles. Along with easing the adaptation of the immigrants to West German reality, to do everything possible so that Germans in countries of southern and eastern Europe do not experience being alienated from the language and the culture of their remote ancestors.

#### How To Resolve the Debate on the Exchange?

Problems, which were raised by a colleague, are perhaps more familiar to Gerlinda Khemerle than to anyone else: she deals in the Bundestag with questions of immigrants from our country. I am now taking advantage of the opportunity to receive information "firsthand".

"The difficulties of arrivals cannot be approached in a simple way, and only in a social and economic plan," says G. Khemerle. "We find more and more frequently that residents of the FRG do not accept them very willingly."

Why? There are not enough cheap state apartments—especially those that can be afforded by immigrants. Of course, we are building them. But the lines in housing offices consist essentially of young people. They are just getting on their feet, and they have been waiting for years for an appropriate cheap dwelling. This is one side of the problem.

The second problem, again a very sensitive one, affects our youth. As a rule, immigrants have a specialty. And your craftsmen, thus, again "cross the path" of our young men and women. Now even on the labor exchanges.

Emotional tensions and resentments arise. Injustice evokes a natural reaction. Birth is given to phrases of the type: "Somebody from Kirgiziya took my place."

How do you do away with hostility? Of course, we must work a lot, but not everything is within our power. We have become egoists, and we are irritated by the differences between the immigrants and the majority of us, and their families are large. This, incidentally, creates additional difficulties. For we are not building large apartments. . .

Not only social democrats are paying attention to the situation that has developed in the FRG with respect to the immigrants.

There is the testimony of the magazine STERN concerning the problems of Germans who have left the USSR.

"Russians, clear out!" is frequently thrown into their faces somewhere in a bakery on hearing broken German speech with a Slavic accent. These very same words are now being painted on the walls of homes. . .

In the course of many years, Germans who lived in the USSR anticipated departing for a "blessed country," and, then, after arriving here they frequently encounter distrust, ill will and unpleasantness.

#### Visit to a "German Club"

The deputies visited the homes of pensioner Iosif Fridrikhovich Sept and kolkhoznik Avgust Fridrikhovich Martel in the village of Lyuksemburg; they took part in a Saturday service in the prayer house of the Evangelical Christian Baptists in Frunze, and they met with representatives of the German intelligentsiya and members of the "German Club." This is a new social organization created for communication in the mother tongue in an informal situation and for spending leisure time, and it is intended in time to become a unique center of national culture.

While Vladimir Fedorov and Igor Karelin, correspondents of Central Television, were interviewing Karsten Foyt and Gerlinda Khemerle, I asked how specifically, and in practice, do they perceive the broadening of contacts between residents of the FRG and, by way of illustration, our republic.

"We see our task now as one of providing every possible opportunity for grownups and pupils from our country for trips with tourist, cultural and sports objectives," says Kh. Zilaff. "Moreover, not only to Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev, but also to Alma-Ata, Tselinograd and Frunze—the centers of the German population in the USSR. Reciprocal guest trips must be expanded and supported. . .

"Many Soviet Germans think that the FRG is their motherland. I think that they are mistaken. It is not that easy to expunge more than two centuries of history and the lives of descendants of former settlers on Russian soil. It is good that national questions are discussed openly here. The positive achievements in your society, we hope, will lead to a resolution of many problems.

"We can help in the study of the mother tongue and the preservation of national traditions and culture: with printed publications, tape recordings and records. Why not, let us say, publish in the FRG folk tales in the German, Kirghiz and Kasakh languages? In April I intend to discuss this question with you and in Alma-Ata in greater detail."

During the days of the visit of the Bundestag deputies in our country, the first issue of the West German weekly FORVERTS (FORWARD), a printed organ of the Social Democratic Party, appeared in Moscow. Henceforth, its publication in the USSR and dissemination will become regular and, starting with next year, it is possible that subscriptions will also be opened. Some of the proposals set forth by Doctor G.-I. Fogel, SDPG chairman, in a conversation with M. S. Gorbachev, held in May of last year in Moscow, are also receiving practical realization.

The idea of a "common European home" is being put into practice not only by politicians. Margita Terborg and Edelgardt Bulmann, whose deputy duties include contacts between twin cities and the defenders of peace in the FRG and other countries, explain that today towns in their countries and the Ukraine, the Baltic and Georgia are linked by partnership relations. There are none of these yet in Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia. It is difficult to overestimate the movement of the defenders of peace of various countries in the struggle against the nuclear threat.

"National diplomacy is real and, moreover, a considerable force of our time," Karsten Foyt says convincingly. "We are once more convinced of this by our trip. The people in your country are becoming more active politically, and they express their opinions more openly on

the most diverse questions. I have been in the USSR more than 30 times, and in Kirgiziya, for the first time. We will be meeting together, and we will learn from each other.

Because nobody in the world lives without problems.

#### Footnote

\*As the DPA agency reported, according to official data from Bonn, last year more than 200,000 immigrants of German nationality arrived in the FRG from countries of eastern Europe, of which about 48,000 were from the USSR.

#### Roundtable on Special Problems of Village Families

18300312a Moscow SELSKAYA NOV in Russian  
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[Roundtable discussion, materials prepared for publication by G. Ronina: "The Problems Have Been Defined, Now What Next?"]

[Text] Recently the editors of SELSKAYA NOV together with the agrarian sciences section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientists' House conducted a roundtable on problems of the rural family.

"The interest in this topic is completely understandable," the journal's editor in chief A. F. Kalinkin said in the introductory address. "The family, that most important nucleus of society, for many years did not get its fair share of attention in our country, and the rural family—even less. Is that not the root of many of the negative phenomena of our life?"

As everyone knows, the destruction of the traditional peasant family especially accelerated in the late 1920's. Stalin's policy of universal collectivization—the dispossession of the kulaks, the ruin of the mass of peasant families and their expulsion to the Siberian taiga and swamps, the camps for the recalcitrants, the famine of 1933 which resulted in millions of victims, and the mass exodus of surviving peasants to the cities—all these shook the peasant family with its centuries-old structure to its foundations, deprived the families of bread-winners, and cut off kinship ties.

And then came the war with its enormous losses which ravaged the countryside above all. And long after the war the family still could not raise itself up—without husbands and without fathers, and beaten down by want and lack of rights. And when finally the conditions appeared for the existence of the normal complete family, it came to light that the family did not have sufficient underpinnings, neither internal nor external ones, in the form of support from the state and the society; and that too often it was badly damaged by the hardship of daily life, undermined by drunkenness, and carried off from the countryside in waves of migration.



A great deal has been said and written in our country about the erosion of the boundaries between the city and the countryside, but the clear inequality of living standards remains. Until recently the tasks of the country's economic development were generally accomplished at the expense of the countryside. It was no accident that the call to repay debts to the countryside rang out with conviction from the tribune of the 19th All-Union Party Conference!

The social strangulation of the countryside could not fail to affect the condition of the rural family. Working for "points" rather than rubles, the destruction of the justified dependence between labor payment and its final result, and the goadings of numerous "commanders" deprived the peasant not only of a sense of being a master of the land but of being the master of his own fate and his own family. The loss of self-respect had a strong effect on the rise in drunkenness and alcoholism—with all the consequences to the physical and moral health of the rising generation which come from that. The constant attacks on the LPKh (private subsidiary plot) and the attempts to reduce it to nothing also undermine the economic base of the family.

The restructuring in the family has forced us to turn our faces to the family. When a person has a reliable family home front, he naturally reveals his work, creative, and social potential more fully. The main goals of restructuring—democratization and the humanization of society—are unattainable without a strong family built on democratic and humanist values.

In returning to Leninist ideas of cooperative development of the countryside, society is now pinning a great deal of hope on the family contract. But to do this, at the very least a complete family is needed, and when possible a family with more than one child. But are there many such families remaining in villages, let us say, in the Non-Chernozem oblasts?

The rural family needs strong support. Recognizing this, it is obviously worth figuring out where its main problems are. What particular kind of help does it need first of all? Our round table was devoted to looking for the answers to these very questions.

In developing the idea of the need for an in-depth comprehensive study of the problems of the rural family, Ye. B. Khlebutin, deputy department chief of USSR Gosagroprom and chairman of the agrarian sciences section of the Scientists' Housenoted: "In speaking of the condition of the contemporary rural family, one must take into account that it is most closely tied to the restructuring in the economy which has begun. These changes must be followed carefully, otherwise mistakes may be made. For example, how does such a popular, undoubtedly progressive form of organization of labor as the family contract affect the rural family? This and

other questions of the influence of production relations on various aspects of the life of the rural family need to be studied in depth and interpreted.

Indeed, the first problem of the rural family is the creation of the family! That is why I altogether support the initiative of SELSKAYA NOV, which brought us here and on whose pages the "acquaintance service" operates. In general I must confess that to agroprom specialists, the problems of the rural family still seem particular ones and somehow peripheral. This is why we do not see a desire to comprehensively study and resolve those problems, although the key to untying many complex knots of the agroindustrial complex is certainly hidden here.

But how should they be 'untied'? Important scientists and specialists and responsible workers of ministries and departments who gathered at the round table have also pondered this."

**M. G. Pankratova (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology).**

"In studying the rural family, we encountered a somewhat unexpected obstacle: in some villages, especially non-Chernozem ones, the young family simply does not exist!

The rapid aging of the rural population causes concern: how will the reproduction of the rural population continue? And how much can the dedicated industriousness and unselfishness of the older female kolkhoz members be exploited? It is clear that young people will not work in such conditions and will not work like them. And we must not reproach them for that. It is very good that the times have changed, and there is no evil spirit that demands more uncounted victims. We need honest, highly productive labor for compensation worthy of a person. But who will organize such labor, if the most talented, educated young people leave the countryside? If it is impossible to create a family?

Young men 18 years old go off to the army, and following them young women who are left without suitors go off to the city. So should the number of men drafted into the army every year perhaps be somewhat reduced? Should methods of military training be thought up "without leave from production," so to speak, and without turning millions of young men into dependents on the state for 2 or 3 years, and should they be given the possibility of obtaining an occupation and setting up a family?

Sociologists have noted a curious trend: in 15 percent of the rural families the wife is 3 to 5 years older than the husband. Most marriages are between persons of the same age. There are comparatively few where the husband is substantially older than the wife. What does this mean?

It means above all that the external qualities of spouses such as the wife's youth or the social status and earnings of a not-so-young husband are valued less in the contemporary family. The wife's 'dowry' is her education and skills and her intellect and good character. The man's riches are industriousness and a sense of responsibility for work and the family. Psychological compatibility and similarity of tastes and views on life are most important in the contemporary marriage.

But demographic disproportions also make themselves known. Sometimes the wife is proud of higher education while the husband is proud of higher earnings. They lack only respect for one another and the ability to build family relations. So quarrels and disagreements increase.

Another characteristic feature is that young women with higher education do not want to work on the farm or in field-crop cultivation as their mothers did. At one time we surveyed a group of rural women one-quarter of whom were milkmaids. But only 5 percent of the daughters of all these women were milkmaids, and the rest, almost all, were in the city. They did not find work for themselves in the countryside. And following the female migration, male migration is also increasing.

The instability of the rural family is a result, as was already said, of various factors which are at times unrecognized but affect it markedly.

Let us assume that in the countryside there are more bachelors than eligible girls. Does this have an effect on young families? Undoubtedly. In this situation the wife undervalues her husband and the family hearth. In the opposite demographic situation, the husband may behave in a similar way.

Frequently spouses, even those who get along pretty well, fight and insult each other, considering it a harmless thing: 'When loved ones quarrel they are only amusing themselves.' But this saying was true for another time, when the stability of the family was guaranteed by many 'clamps': tradition which excluded divorce, strong public opinion and church precepts, the large family farm, and even... illiteracy. In those days even cursing and beatings could not break up a family. Now everything is different. They have a few fallings-out, feelings are hurt—and they get a divorce. And after that it's already too late to fix anything.

The conclusion? The family must learn sophistication of relations. And it must also be done on the pages of the periodical publications, by telling about various 'life stories' more often and analyzing the causes of conflicts and possibilities of avoiding them based on this particular material. That will also mean giving assistance to the family on the individual level, so to speak. It is good that SELSKAYA NOV is working on this, although obviously it should be done more actively.

There is another way to help the family—on the level of the state. Essentially that means creating normal living conditions for the rural family.

I remember 10 years ago when I was studying the needs of the rural population, I found that inadequate labor payment and an unregulated work day ('... urban inhabitants work 8 hours, and then go home. But we do not see the day or the night...') worried people most of all. But today they react especially acutely to the lack of domestic conveniences in the countryside and the lack of conditions for full development of children and for cultural leisure time and the like. That is where the assistance of the state is needed, and immediately."

**Yu. A. Korolev (USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium).**

"I have been studying family law for more than 20 years and I have participated in preparing legislation on marriage and the family. And I must confess that much too little attention has been devoted to the rural family in this legislation, 'microattention'. Only one article mentions the rural family—that deals with division of the kolkhoz household. And that is all. Undoubtedly, there is a flagrant lack of legislation here. The Constitution says that the state stands in defense of the family, but that is no more than a declared norm. It is embodied in two or three normative acts, and they hardly reflect the specifics of the rural family at all.

Of course, the rural family receives a significant part of its income from women's and children's hands, so to speak. And now expansion of the family contract is being propagandized. But who will work? Again, obviously, women and children most of all. Manual labor will be consolidated. Is it just that or is this the path by which we will head into the 21st century? Is the transition to the family contract reinforced by concern for worthwhile leisure and cultural service to rural residents? Is schools being improved? The domestic services sphere, the health care sphere? Or as before is there only one concern—to squeeze out a little more agricultural output through the efforts of the rural family? Ultimately this will lead to more negative phenomena. For no matter how much the family's income rises, if the child cannot obtain a modern education in the rural school, his parents will still consider moving to the city sooner or later.

I vote for formulating a law on the family. And for creating a Family Institute."

**M. S. Matskovskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology).**

"I want to mention a new trend which is beginning to be seen, very dimly it is true—the first signs of the migration of young urban families to rural areas. This trend

has been noted much more clearly in Poland, and since my Polish colleagues are already actively studying the reasons that urban inhabitants move to the countryside, I will use their conclusions.

It has become clear that those who moved were certain that first, in the countryside they earn more than in the city and, secondly, they believe that in the countryside conditions are better for the physical, labor, and moral upbringing of children, and there you can have three or more children, while in the city it is difficult to decide to have even a second child. The fresh air, the fresh fruit and vegetables, the space, the nearness to nature, the shared labor with parents, and the mutual help are all extremely favorable factors for bringing up children. In addition, while in the city human contacts are being destroyed, in the countryside, in contrast, they are being strengthened. There one can create neighborhood associations and satisfy the need for contacts with like-minded people during joint activity, and still preserve the family's autonomy. Finally, in the countryside one can build a house to one's own taste and with one's own hands, an attractive prospect for many skilled craftsmen.

In the countryside nowadays one must 'fight' with skill, not with numbers. It is difficult for the older generations of rural residents—we bow down to them!—to meet the present-day challenges of the agroindustrial complex. They have taken more than enough upon their own shoulders, and now someone should carry on the work, but in new conditions. The countryside needs people capable of innovation and decisive restructuring of the entire system of economic activity, people with a high level of skills, knowledge, and culture. Young urban residents may also have their say here. Intelligent people have long understood that an interesting life is by no means only theaters and museums. It is above all enjoyable attractive work whose fruits can be felt; it is overcoming difficulties and achieving things together with like-minded people; it is finally the 'luxury of human contact.' Allow me to note, by the way, that the popularity in the cities of young people's housing construction cooperatives is the result of precisely this possibility—not merely of receiving an apartment, but also of creating a friendly neighborhood community and a kind of commune where life is happier and fuller for both children and for adults. For this very reason young families try to move to rural areas in whole groups.

When speaking of the rural family, one must not forget about the fate of old people living out their lives alone in deserted villages. That is a poor lesson for young people, and I am no longer speaking of what it means to the old people themselves. It does not raise the prestige of life in the countryside.

And another thing: there are regions where the problems of the rural family are especially acute, particularly in the republics of Central Asia. We must not close our eyes to the medieval customs, to the inequality of women, or to the fact that they have 10 or more children each and that

these children have blood that is yellow from an acute lack of hemoglobin; the infant fatality rate is very high there. It seems to me that the press should work more persistently toward changes.

As for the proposal to create a Family Institute which was heard here, in my opinion, we have enough different institutes. The thing is that they should work more efficiently."

**V. I. Perevedentsev (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement).**

"As a demographer, I can testify that it is only because of the rural family that the country's population is now being reproduced; there are still 1,700 children for every 1,000 parents in rural areas. But that is on the average. While in the Central Asian republics large patriarchal families are preserved, in the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone the model rural family is converging with the urban family—in make-up, in life orientation, and in system of values. All the other variants of the family are distributed between these two poles.

It is not surprising that in many regions, as was already said, it is difficult to start a family. The last census showed that three out of four young people in some oblasts of the Non-Chernozem Zone are girls. In fact, while the young fellows are serving in the army, the girls go to school or work in the city, and the parents 'drive' them from the home—with tears, but they drive them and wish their daughters happiness. The sociologist L. Nesterenko from Bryansk Oblast told about this recently on the pages of SELSKAYA NOV, by the way.

It is absolutely necessary to have detailed data on the demographic situation in each rayon, but for some inconceivable reasons statistical science continues to conceal a great deal. For how long? And whom does that benefit? I cannot understand this.

In our press, with the exception of a few publications (and SELSKAYA NOV is one), inaccurate coverage and interpretation of the processes of migration continue. They write that too many people are leaving for the city and they should be 'kept' in the countryside, but that is absurd!

First, it is not bad that in general the rural population is declining, but it is bad that people are leaving places where there is no one to work and they are staying in places where there is no work. That means we must help people move from rayons of agrarian overcrowding to places where there is an extremely acute shortage of work hands.

I remember when several years ago in Leninabad the deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkom said to me: 'You know, what remarkable young people we have! The upper classmen from 28 rural schools have come forward with an initiative for their whole classes to work on their



native kolkhozes.' I was surprised: 'Why are you so glad about that?' Now it was the person I was talking to who was surprised: 'Do you really not know that Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev himself praised this initiative?' 'I know that. But what good will it do the kolkhoz if there are already many people there who have no work? And what will happen to the kids themselves?'

The deputy chairman did not like such a turn in the conversation and she rapped out dryly: 'Another deputy chairman is working on questions of the countryside's labor resources. That is his question.'

Thoughtlessly pursuing initiatives and disregarding the real demographic situation and the condition of labor resources is our chronic disease. And it is not evident that any fundamental progress has been made here.

And how can we talk about 'holding' people in the countryside in such conditions? I said this grating word and recalled how several years ago the chairman of one of the rural soviets in the Pskov region said to me: 'We have not managed to "come out of serfdom" yet after our existence without a passport under Stalin, and you are trying to hold us in one place again. Those words sound offensive to us. Don't different journalists and officials understand that?' I remembered his words.

For many years I have supported removing all obstacles to any migration. Closed entry to large cities does not make us look good either. If it were not for that, think how many people would move to the countryside to work, if only for a few years! Without closing off the way back forever for themselves and their children.

Incidentally, I would like to say a few words about housing and inequality of urban and rural inhabitants in this area. While most urban inhabitants receive housing space from the state, most rural residents must build houses at their own expense. And 30,000 to 40,000 rubles spent for a small house—that means a lifetime of servitude.

But allow me to return to the condition of the family. No matter how much we close our eyes to reality, we still cannot escape the fact that a family revolution is taking place in our country and that in the West this is called the sexual revolution. We merely have to stop being ashamed to speak of how young people behave in the love and marriage sphere, and it becomes clear how much the situation has changed in recent decades. Back before the war it was the norm that the bride entered marriage as a virgin. Otherwise public opinion reacted severely and unequivocally, and that served as a means to stop it. But nowadays?

In the early 1980's a survey was conducted of a large and representative group of women in Perm. The topic was their first pregnancy. And what did the survey show? For every 1,000 women, 272 had abortions, 140 were unmarried when they gave birth, 271 gave birth in the first few

months of the marriage, and only 317, that is, less than one-third, became pregnant after they got married. That is the new model of behavior. The countryside is also moving toward this model.

On the average throughout the country, as statistics confirm, for every 100 marriages there are 34-35 divorces, and in large cities—up to 50 or more. It must also be taken into account that not everyone registers their divorce—for various motives and reasons, and in the countryside the percentage of unregistered divorces is obviously higher (we are not trying to check this data).

I believe that setting up a Family Institute would allow us to have more accurate information on all aspects of the life of the family in various regions, both in the city and in the countryside. An Institute of Demography is also necessary. It is simply shameful that our enormous country does not have any such scientific institution. There is even such an institute in little Hungary. In the 1920's we had two demographic institutes. But they were eliminated under Stalin. Obviously, he had no use for a precise picture of demographic processes; otherwise, it would immediately have been clear how many millions of his fellow countrymen he did away with.

Recently the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Population was set up under Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] and the USSR Academy of Sciences. But that was a bypassing maneuver. For in addition to socioeconomic problems the population also has other problems—sociobiological, sociopsychological, and the like. I believe the press should support the idea of setting up an Institute of Demography, which would do its part in studying the problems of the rural family."

**V. V. Pankratov (All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Problems of Legality and Law Enforcement).**

"I would like to add the following to what V. I. Perevedentsev said about the rising number of divorces: in places where the divorce level is especially high, the number of crimes committed by minors, including rural teenagers, is also at a peak. And each of these kids does not necessarily have a troubled family. The environment, as well as the entire complex of social conditions under which a person grows up, certainly has no less influence than one's own family.

The troubles of the family, including the rural family, are clearly seen through our 'little window,' and I am the head of the sector of problems of crime committed by minors. It has been established that the crime rate is higher in those villages which are located closer to a city and have a reliable transport system connected to it. And not because the city in itself brings everything bad to the countryside, of course. But the clash of the traditional rural way of life with the modern urban way of life is fraught with danger. The traditional type of consciousness breaking under the influence of the new type with its

different values creates instability in the juvenile's state of mind. It also prepares the ground for violations of the law and is a criminogenous factor, as jurists say.

The press has reported about the clashes in large cities of 'limitchiki' [temporary workers] with urban youth and of teenagers from the suburbs with teenagers from the center. These clashes reveal hostility toward urban peers, who appear to be luckier because fashionable clothing, music, and the like are more accessible to them. A sense of social inferiority and the absence of conditions to satisfy new demands are an important reason for the rise in crime among rural youth. And the moral and spiritual baggage which is received in the family and, moreover, in school is clearly meager and cannot serve as a counterweight to bad influences.

In addition labor indoctrination has sharply deteriorated, and young people often begin to work hard only after they come of age, that is when they are 20 or 21 years old (after army service), and that, of course, did not happen in the countryside in the old days. Schooling could have become labor, but it did not. Despite all the reforms in education, and perhaps because of them, schools do not teach one to work hard. An unspoken compromise has become established: the teacher pretends to teach and the pupil—to be learning. Just make it to the eighth grade and receive your diploma; then you can get into vocational-technical school, where you study something for 3 whole years that you should have mastered in 3 months. That is not learning, it is corrupting the teenager's personality and training him for anti-social behavior. What shall we do next?"

**I. V. Grebennikov (USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General Problems of Upbringing).**

"I want to take exception to what Yu. A. Korolev said: we should not criticize the family contract right off. We quite often are in a rush to adamantly oppose everything new that appears in life, instead of supporting its development and neutralizing the possible negative consequences. Joint labor is an important factor which unifies the family.

But that, of course, does not eliminate the problems of teaching parents the art of upbringing. And we must also teach the rudiments of family life and conjugal relations.

We have worked out the course 'Ethics and Psychology of Family Life,' which undoubtedly could help youth. For in uniting their lives two people bring with them from their parents' families various traditions, interests, and needs. But how can all this be turned to the advantage of the family without losing individuality and without diminishing everything that is best in the partner? We have found that young people have no knowledge on that score and no understanding of what family compatibility is. But the phenomenon is a multifaceted one, and four types of compatibility must be distinguished. First,

there is spiritual and worldview compatibility. Then comes psychological compatibility (incidentally, the psychological compatibility of both similar and opposite characters and temperaments is possible, for compatibility is not identity!). Then comes family-domestic compatibility. And, finally, sexual compatibility. Embarrassed silence about it only prevents people from learning to achieve it. For it means the harmonious conformity of the needs of spouses in intimate relations and the conformity of these needs with the possibilities of both.

I think that not only in large cities but also in rayon centers marriage counselors are very necessary, on the model of women's counselors, where sexology specialists and psychologists would help spouses figure out what type of compatibility they are lacking in their family and how to eliminate this lack.

Perhaps it would be the Family Institute which would help organize this counseling service, even if it were for pay."

**G. A. Kuznetsov, professor.**

"Agroindustrial complex specialists and VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin] scientists underestimate the importance of family problems in the countryside. That is why the private subsidiary plot is having such difficulty winning its rights. It is good that SELSKAY NOV is taking a principled position here, and long before the present course consistently supported the owners of private subsidiary plots.

If we had a Family Institute, it could protect the family's interests, and then it would be more difficult for Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction Affairs] to create its 'miracles.' For the building of new villages in many places has led to destruction of the peasant household and intensified migration. And the history of the 'unpromising' villages, which cost so heavily, and not just the countryside, might not have occurred if an institute had existed without whose official stamp no major actions in the countryside could have been undertaken.

At the congress of kolkhoz members many farm managers said: give us the opportunity to build everything that the village needs in about 5 years and slightly limit construction in the cities during this period if there are no other reserves (in my opinion, they would be found—all that has to be done is to reject the stereotypes of economic activity!). But I do not see that much attention has been paid to those requests. Far from it! The inertia of the attitude toward the countryside on the principle—blame it all on God that things are bad for us—is too strong."

**Ye. M. Klyusko (RSFSR Ministry of Culture Scientific Research Institute of Culture).**

"I want to support VASKhNIL, which has been criticized here. Together with the academy our institute is

participating in developing a scientific-technical program which should serve to raise the quality of life in the countryside and its culture. Unfortunately, we did not work on the problems of the culture of the countryside for a long time. In the meantime a large gap took shape between the generations in their cultural orientations and in ways of spending their leisure time. Young people, for example, like modern popular music and rock groups, while the tastes of the older generation are much more traditional. Needless to say, this circumstance does not bring the generations together. But that is not much taken into account in cultural education work.

The organization of leisure in the countryside is oriented only to young people (although little good it does them), while the leisure of the other groups of the population and the leisure of the family as the integral nucleus remains outside the range of vision of cultural workers.

The city should provide a great deal more assistance. Such forms of cultural sponsorship as sending books and concerts are insufficient and, moreover, have become just formalities. The organs of the Ministry of Culture and trade unions have proven in past decades that they are not able to show effective concern for the cultural development of the countryside. It is also time for the Culture Fund to have its say on this score. But perhaps a special fund should be created—an all-Union or republic fund—for the cultural support of the countryside."

**N. S. Malofeyev (RSFSR Goskomtrud).**

"As a practical worker involved in questions of migration, I must once again emphasize that in many of the country's regions, above all in the Non-Chernozem Zone, a very difficult situation with rural labor resources is taking shape. If present trends continue, then, for example, by the year 2000 the countryside will be almost completely empty in Pskov Oblast. Even in the Far East the situation is better than in the Non-Chernozem Zone—thanks to our organized migration. The reinforcements are coming mainly from Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. About 10,000 families will be moved to the Non-Chernozem Zone in 1989-1995.

In our opinion, these processes should be accompanied by greater interethnic indoctrination and more active propaganda in the pages of the press and on television of respect for national traditions, including the national characteristics of family life.

The problems which have accumulated in rural areas and the underdevelopment of the social infrastructure impede an effective migration policy. For example, I was in Amur Oblast recently, at the Georgiyevskiy Sovkhoz, and I saw how the new arrivals are settled in. I also talked with long-time residents, and they said to me: 'Even we want to leave here ourselves. What kind of life is this? We don't see our children, we cart them away to boarding schools for the whole week!' And for the new arrivals it is even more difficult, they have to start from scratch.

We must work out a breakthrough strategy for providing agriculture with worker cadres in the coming years. Regional programs of development of the population are now being worked out. Among other things, in Kalinin Oblast RSFSR Goskomtrud is studying the demographic situation. On this scientific basis an oblast program to develop the population will be worked out, and this program will serve as a model for other regions as well.

Publication of an information bulletin has been organized for people who are thinking of moving to rural areas and finding jobs. It will go to local organs on labor and social problems. SELSKAYA NOV is also doing useful work in this direction."

**T. N. Tsakunova (USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute of Economics).**

"The level of income and material well-being is one of the most important questions for every family. In villages this level is sharply differentiated by regions, more so in the villages than in the cities. In the Baltic Region it is one thing, and in Central Asia it is something altogether different. The differentiation in terms of sources of income and in the share of the private subsidiary plot in that income is also great. But on the whole the level of income of the countryside lags behind that of the city. That cannot fail to have an effect on the condition of the rural family.

The situation is becoming worse because it is much more difficult to spend income in the countryside. Many rural stores are simply empty, and in others shelves are full of goods, but what kind of goods are they? So-called above-norm commodity stocks. No one bought them in the city, so they were sent to the countryside. One more form of discrimination occurs. Going to the city to buy things means spending additional time, effort, and money. That detracts from the home and has an effect on inner family relations, on the cultural development of the family, and on quality of life in general. And it is correspondingly reflected in the prestige of rural life.

And services! The rural inhabitant receives only one-half as many as urban residents, and they are of lower quality. That is why the hands of rural women are not like those of urban women. And they get tired more. Let us take a type of domestic work such as washing. There are no laundries but there are no washing machines either, and water must be hauled in and heated up. In the countryside everything is more complicated, and less attention is given to it. So much has been said about this, but the situation is not changing."

**M. I. Palladina (All-Union Scientific Research Institute on Economics of Agriculture).**

"One must mention quality of housing as one of the reasons which force people from the countryside (with all the consequences for the family). The heating system has become an enormous problem. A detail? This one



thing is poisoning the lives of hundreds of thousands of families. In appearance the building is a good one, and everyone—the leadership of the farm, the rayon, and the oblast—is reporting on the successful solution of the housing problem. But living in such buildings for more than part of the year is difficult. Attention must also be paid to the efficiency of the heating system and to the quality of domestic fuel and its delivery in sufficient quantities. These have become painful questions!

For the prospects of the family contract and its consequences for the rural family, one cannot help seeing that it will undoubtedly lead to a tougher schedule of labor and rest for people, to dissatisfaction, and to lower cultural expectations. That does not mean, of course, that the family contract should be rejected. The question is a different one: what can be organized to prevent this? What reserves of domestic and cultural services must be launched? That is something to think about, and sociologists and cultural specialists should do so too."

**N. N. Vaganov (USSR Ministry of Health).**

"No matter how difficult it may be to throw stones at our own garden, we must still recognize that the health of the rural population, men, and women, and children, has become a most acute problem. It was always believed that because of the fresh fruits and vegetables, the pure air, and the features of rural labor involving being in the fresh air and moving around a lot, people in the countryside were more healthy than those in the city. Alas, surveys show that is not so. A comparison with urban residents for each population group has shown that all indicators of health are lower for rural residents. And as for children, the picture here is especially alarming; only 5 percent of them can be considered absolutely healthy. Some deviation from the norm was noted in 95 percent of them.

How can this situation be changed? Unfortunately, there is no simple answer. It is impossible to set up a hospital in each village and, moreover, that is not necessary, although people understandably want to receive treatment near to their homes and their families. We will continue to strengthen the central hospitals in the rayons and develop mobile types of care. But roads, a reliable telephone system, and special and adapted transport are needed. A doctor must be able to reach any remote area at any time. In turn, each farm must have a good out-patient or paramedic point.

Of course, more expenditures to improve the material-technical base of health care and increase the qualifications of medical personnel are needed. The USSR Ministry of Health is working on this.

I believe it is particularly necessary to mention the health of rural women. There is not one developed state in the world where such a large number of abortions compared to the number of births is found as in our country. This information has now finally become open, and that is

why we specialists can now breathe easier. It is easier to wage the struggle, and it cannot be said otherwise, precisely the struggle to put an end to this barbarous source of women's illnesses. The public should know about the real state of affairs. Allow me to cite these figures: while in Hungary there are 20 abortions for every 100 births, in our country there are 176 abortions for every 100 births. We must no longer put off producing reliable contraceptives."

We were not able to give the statements at the round table in more detail because of a shortage of space in the journal. There are no obvious, unequivocal answers to all the questions posed. But what was heard here does not leave doubt: emergency measures for multifaceted, comprehensive support of the rural family are needed which take into account both its present condition and the prospects for tomorrow. We hope that the problems dealt with by the participants in the round table will attract the attention of the workers of the agroindustrial complex and other departments, scientists of various specializations, and all who are not indifferent to the fate of the countryside.

We await answers to the questions posed!

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### **Village Youths Questioned on Education, Career Goals**

18300312b Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by A. Asankanov, head of the Kirghiz State University School of History Department of Archeology and Ethnography and candidate of historical sciences: "A Guide to the World of Occupations: Rural Youth in the Mirror of Statistics"]

[Text] In analyzing all the factors which are impeding our present development, among the most serious is the imbalance in the distribution of cadres. It is noted with alarm that in a number of directions substantially more specialists are trained from year to year than are needed, while in other sectors the shortage of human resources is increasing. Why is that happening? Only a bold, objective analysis of the professional orientation of the population untroubled by stereotypes can answer this question. The scientists of Kirghiz State University, who conducted an ethnosociological survey of youth of a number of rural rayons, have made an attempt at this analysis.

The objects of the survey were not chosen randomly. The inhabitants of the village of Kyzyl-Ata in Naukatskiy Rayon in Osh Oblast, representatives of southern Kirghizia, have been living next door to Uzbeks for a long time, and these Uzbeks have to a certain degree influenced the daily life, language, and culture of the indigenous population. The working people of the village of Kairma live in mountainous Naryn Oblast, where, in

contrast, the Kirghiz make up the absolute majority. Russians and Ukrainians make up half of the population in the village of Teploklyuchenka in Issyk-Kul Oblast. Thus, in terms of ethnic make-up and in terms of other indicators (socioeconomic, demographic, and the like), these three populated points characterize the republic's entire rural region. Therefore, we hope that comments on the orientation of youth in the sphere of education are characteristic of all rural Kirghiz of the republic.

Of the rural youth between the ages of 16 to 20 surveyed, 71.5 percent are thinking of raising their education in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. These data clearly attest to the social mobility of young men and women from the countryside. In addition, there are common features in the direction of the interests of Kirghiz rural youth.

To the question "If the opportunity arises, which VUZ, tekhnikum, or school would you enter?", one-third chose educational institutions where cadres are trained for agriculture, 23 percent—pedagogical institutions, and slightly more than one-tenth—medical VUZes. In all only 9.8 percent of those surveyed expressed a desire to become engineers in industry and construction, and of those the absolute majority preferred the latter, and 8.2 percent answered that they wanted to obtain an occupation in the sphere of domestic services. A very insignificant number of kids stated their readiness to become lawyers or soldiers.

As seen from the figures, the young people are for the most part oriented to agricultural labor, as well as to other professions which are needed in rural areas. This aim is related to an entire complex of factors. The environment of the native residents is primarily an agrarian region, and industry here is underdeveloped. Therefore it is no accident that people from these regions for the most part study at agricultural, pedagogical, and medical institutes, tekhnikums, and schools, and only an insignificant number of young people enter educational institutions which train specialists for power-engineering, machine building, and heavy and light industry. The orientation to a profession in industry is especially weak among Kirghiz women. Among all those surveyed, only 8.4 percent of the young women expressed the desire to study in this specialization.

The fact that so few rural students have as their goal the professions which industrial sectors of the cities need so acutely is related to the fact that propaganda for these specializations is very weak in schools, clubs, and various circles in the countryside. In addition, for the most part labor indoctrination is also oriented to the agricultural sector, and the absolute majority of students master only the occupation of machine operator. There is one other major factor. Everyone knows that rural kids master the Russian language much more poorly than their urban peers. As surveys have shown, only about one-tenth of rural pupils, and even then not everywhere, have mastered Russian to a sufficient degree when they

graduate. And since teaching is carried on in this language in all technical higher and secondary specialized institutions, the graduates are unwilling to go to those places.

One must say that the Kirghiz are poorly represented not only in industrial centers and cities, but also at industrial enterprises in rural areas. The development of plants and factories and interfarm associations and their branches will help resolve not only economic tasks but also the no less important social problems in the republic's rural rayons. As everyone knows, the Kirghiz belong to that group of people of the USSR whose population reproduction is going on at a more rapid rate, particularly in rural areas, and as a result of that excess labor resources are concentrated there. But despite that, schools and local party and soviet organs agitate for young men and women to remain in the countryside instead of efficiently using the worker cadres which they already have. Such a regionalist approach cannot fail to affect the orientation of young people. It has been revealed that 70 percent of those surveyed would prefer to remain under their own roofs, and if they do express a desire to go to the city, that would be only to obtain an education and then later return to their native village.

The Kirghiz rural intelligentsia is most represented in the spheres of education, record-keeping and planning, medicine, and agriculture. Compared to other nations and ethnic groups who live in the countryside, there are few Kirghiz among engineering-technical specialists and workers in municipal enterprises and domestic services. Managers of enterprises, farms, state organs, cultural-educational institutions, and the press make up a substantial portion of the Kirghiz rural intelligentsia; that is, the rural intelligentsia is replenished through representatives of the humanitarian professions as well as administrative-management workers.

In this way there is reason to say that both in the republic's cities and in its rural areas the stream of Kirghiz to technical specializations is still insufficient. Therefore it is now necessary to fundamentally restructure vocational orientation work among young people, direct young men and women to the industrial specializations, develop the technical creativity of high school students, and strengthen ties with production associations and branches of plants and factories.

In our opinion the "silence" about the prestige of the working class in artistic literature, films, music, and painting is a no less significant factor in their small numbers in the national working class. For example, artistic works in the subject area of labor have not yet found their way into the plans of literary figures. They are covering the problems of the republic's industrialization and the development of scientific-technical progress in it slowly and without the proper depth. To a certain degree this has promoted the indifference which people of the native nationality feel toward worker specializations.

Meanwhile, the republic's industry and construction are experiencing a constant need for skilled worker cadres and specialists in these areas. To hope that the situation will somehow work itself out is at the very least naive. Purposeful, systematic work is needed here. But that is

economically more expedient than hiring workers and specialists from the country's industrial rayons. Having our own production forces is certainly a step towards economic independence and a guarantee of the forward development of society.



**Academic Attacks Letter Supporting Informal Groups**

18000345b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 25 Nov 88 p 3

[Letter from A. Filimonov, Hero of the Soviet Union, doctor of historical sciences, professor, and chairman of the BSSR Academy of Sciences Council of War and Labor Veterans: "What E. Yalugin Was Silent About"]

[Text] On 4 November 1988, the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA published an article by Ernest Yalugin, entitled "I Cannot Believe." The tone or the article and its orientation are surprising to me.

From the position of one who pretends to absolute truth in evaluating the members of the "informal" movement, the author spoke out against those who have subjected the ideologically confused, essentially nationalistic views of the "informals" to criticism. In loud tones, the author white-washes those who share the program views of the Talaka members and other "informals" and blackens those who do not agree with them. The writer shows particular "interest" in the biographies of certain of the authors of the article "The Evolution of Political Ignorance," while attempting to avoid answering the questions that are raised in it, to avoid an analysis of Talaka's program. For example, the author does not wish to note such "pearls" of the talakists as their demand for the establishment of "Belorussian troops", for nationalistic symbols, for citizenship based on the language spoken, etc.

The experience of the civil and Great Fatherland wars showed the absurdity of such a view of our army. Intercourse among the personnel of the Red Army in the Russian language was one of the most important conditions for its successful military activities and victories.

Without taking account of the lessons of history, the author supports Talaka's idea of introducing as symbols within Belorussia the "Pursuit" ["Pagonya"] coat of arms and the white-red-white flag—symbols, which the Great Kingdom of Lithuania and bourgeois Lithuania had in the past and the same ones which were used by the nationalistic Belorussian Central Council during the years of fascist occupation.

He passes over in silence the question of the present coat of arms and the red and green BSSR flag with its Belorussian ornament, which are the national and state symbol of Soviet Belorussia.

E. Yalugin is pleased by the demand of the "informals" about introducing Belorussian citizenship and economic privileges for people who know the Belorussian language, while remaining silent about the enormous significance of the Russian language and of bi-lingualism, which have

become established in Belorussia. The author passes over in silence the question of Talaka's demands that exclude the vanguard role of the CPSU in the development of Soviet society.

It seems that these questions deserve attention and should be central to an analysis of the content of this article. However, E. Yalugin took another path. He occupied himself with seeking out shortcomings in the scientific activities of A. Filimonov—one of its authors. He placed in doubt the scholarly credentials of A. Filimonov. In a nitpicking distortion, the author mentioned the subject of his dissertation, "forgetting" to say that it was defended 35 years ago and that it was devoted to the history of the press of the Baku Bolsheviks in 1905-1910.

It is appropriate to ask the "critic" whether he knows that, in their poems and prose, almost all of Belorussia's leading writers dedicated their work to Stalin and that several collective letters were written in the name of the Belorussian people expressing gratitude to him for his wise leadership.

All this happened. It is history.

By his dishonest methods, E. Yalugin casts a shadow in the honor of A. Filimonov as a scholar. He is intentionally silent about the fact that A. Filimonov defended his doctoral dissertation on the theme of "The Consolidation of the Union of the Working Class and the Laboring Peasantry in the Period of Large-scale Socialist Construction. 1929-1936." Using BSSR materials. And that he published two monographs on this theme, that the fifth volume of the "History of the BSSR" and the second volume of the three-volume work "The Nationwide Struggle in Belorussia Against the German Fascist Invaders During the Years of the Great Fatherland War" were prepared under his leadership, that he was one of the editors of the five-volume "History of the BSSR" and of the three-volume "Nationwide Struggle in Belorussia Against the German Fascist Invaders During the Years of the Great Fatherland War," that the monograph "The Fraternal Collaboration of the Belorussian SSR with the Union Republics" was written and published under his leadership, that he is a mentor of graduate students, nine of whom have become candidates of historical sciences, and that he has written more than 100 scientific works.

But the "critic" E. Yalugin collects doubtful street "news" about the works of A. Filimonov and is indignant that the organs of the press have given such a person, "with such a past, a republic-wide forum to preach to the creative unions and the young people." He tries to come out as an advocate of the creative unions. I believe they have no need such protection.

These actions reveal all that there is to E. Yalugin, the presence of his insulting way of carrying on a discussion.

E. Yalugin speaks out expansively in favor of restructuring, but he does not want to see that the talakists, the "tuteyshyists," and other "informals," under the guise of restructuring, are pulling in the opposite direction, are confusing their own views with nationalism.

In defending the theoretically confused views of the "informals", E. Yalugin, along with his colleague A. Sidorevich, is using every means to create a cult surrounding V.V. Bykov. Bowing before their idol and together with him, they are employing false methods, are slandering A. Filimonov, ascribing fables to him. In truth, these are methods from the times of the personality cult.

In words, E. Yalugin, like his fellow-thinkers, is against Stalinism and the against pinning on such labels as "Enemy of the people", "saboteur", and the like, but in fact they defend the "informals", who pin on the labels of "Stalinist" and "enemy of restructuring."

At the same time, E. Yalugin has emerged as a self-proclaimed historian. In an interview entitled "About the Past with Hope" (in the journal KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII, No 11, 1988), with pretensions to an innovative approach to historical facts, he asserts that D.F. Zhilunovich "by the will of a revolutionary accident turned out to be at the head of the first Belorussian Soviet government." What kind of an accident is he talking about?

Every Soviet person knows that the October Socialist Revolution was not an accident, but a natural historical event. It was prepared by the Bolsheviks with V.I. Lenin at their head. And comrades-in-arms of V.I. Lenin were working in Belorussia—M.V. Frunze, A.F. Myasnikov, V.G. Knorin, P.N. Lepeshinskiy, and many other prominent Bolsheviks. Here there was a Bolshevik party organization numbering in the thousands, which directed the soldier, proletarian and peasant masses. The Bolsheviks succeeded in rallying the broad popular masses under the banner of Lenin and ensured victory over the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. D.F. Zhilunovich was one of the most important leaders of the revolutionary movement in Belorussia. It was therefore that he became head of the first Soviet government in the republic.

There are also other absurdities in the article.

On the basis of what is said in E. Yalugin's article, it is difficult to believe that its author is for restructuring, for truth in life and eliminating the "blank spots" in history.

### MVD Official Discusses Role of Internal Troops in Stabilizing NKAO

18300310a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
1 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Colonel Ye. Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR MVD internal forces political directorate: "For Order in Our Common Home"]

[Text] By the nature of my work, I frequently have to travel on temporary duty assignments. I have seen Central Asia as well as the Far East and the Baltic region. I have often also been in the republics of the Transcaucasus. Outside my professional affairs, I have not forgotten, if only briefly, to acquaint myself with local attractions, with the culture and art of each republic. And what has come to mind every time has been specifically the diversity of traditions, the multi-colored customs which distinguish our Union. In our meetings with soldiers, both I and the other political officers always express this thought, one which has become firmly reinforced during long years of service.

And now once again I find this same idea in the very first lines of an address given by M.S. Gorbachev at a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "The CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo stress constantly that we live in a multinational state. The Soviet Union is our common home."

And serving within this home are units and subunits of the internal security forces, which have been assigned responsible tasks of national significance. Incidentally, we have representatives of more than thirty nationalities serving with us, guys from all the regions of our country. So that it can be boldly stated that every one of our subunits is, itself, a common home, a Soviet Union in miniature.

Recently, the commanders and political workers of our forces received a directive on improving inter-nationality work and analysis of ethnic relationships among military service personnel. Indeed, it is not by accident that they call the Army the flesh of the flesh of the Soviet people. Those who have trained to be soldiers must be true patriots and internationalists.

The events of recent months in Armenia and Azerbaijan show that the problems of relationships between nationalities have been unjustly pushed into the background. The presence of our troops in the Transcaucasus is further testimony to these shortcomings. I say with all my heart—We are for order in our common home.

Today in Azerbaijan and Armenia there are particularly many soldiers with the letters VV [Internal Forces] on their shoulder boards. They, soldiers of law and order, together with their comrades from units of the Soviet Army and colleagues from the organs of Internal Affairs, are standing guard over the civil rights of the citizens.

We are working in full mutual understanding with local party and soviet organs and are meeting a hearty welcome from an overwhelming majority of the population.

The place of our troops in the complicated situation surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has been described very precisely by the chief of the Main Administration of Internal Troops, Colonel General Yu. V. Shatalin. Probably many of you have read his interview with a correspondent of PRAVDA on 26 November. I will only recall those of his words which, in concise form, express the views of the leadership of our troops regarding the situation that has developed. "We believe... that intelligence and legality, democracy and order will take the high ground. It cannot be otherwise. The soldiers of the internal security forces are serving this noble, humane cause."

To maintain order, in practical terms, means to help people to live and work in peace. Before coming to Baku, I was also in Yerevan. Both there and here, with you, periods of relative stability have been replaced by a new aggravation of the situation. It is very painful to see the outbursts which are not only poisoning the general climate of our restructuring, but are also having a very costly effect on the state of affairs in both Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Some announce categorically that a state of emergency and a curfew are not needed. Unfortunately, practice shows that even compulsory measures—introduction of a state of emergency and the establishment of a curfew—have not cooled down certain hot heads, have not put an end to violations of the law. It is therefore that our soldiers, warrant officers, and officers are standing their posts. And along with them, students from military academies who have left their study halls in order to show in a practical way their devotion to their chosen profession. And this profession is a very, very difficult one. It is, indeed, not by accident that our charter gives special emphasis to the soldier's obligation to bear steadfastly the burdens and deprivations of military service.

But it is one thing when difficulties are overcome during military training, and a completely different one when the entire tenor of life of the troops is disrupted by situations similar to those which have now developed in the Transcaucasus. And here something paradoxical occurs. On one hand, the local residents genuinely welcome the military personnel, give them fruit and decorate their military vehicles with flowers, but, on the other, the circumstances or, as the military say, the operational situation, which is far from being a normal one, is keeping both employees of the internal security organs and our troops in a state of tension. They are saying "duty is duty" and are staying at their posts. I will state frankly that their watchfulness has paid off more than once in these days—firearms and other kinds of weapons have been confiscated, drunken auto-hooligans have been stopped and arrested.

The military personnel of the internal security forces have always been called upon to ensure order during any kind of mass occasions—meetings and demonstrations, athletic competitions and celebrations. This is done for the good of people, for the good of public order. It is not difficult to imagine what can happen when tens of thousands of people gather together within a limited area—one false word or precipitous action will lead to trouble. In this connection, I think it is unforgivable when parents permit juveniles to wander around on their own, even during curfew hours, or take youngsters along with them to demonstrations and meetings. Why? Children should be studying in school, just as their parents should be conscientiously working in production. This is not only my opinion; our soldiers are also talking about this.

We also talk on the streets with the residents of Baku and are asked questions: "When will order be restored?" or "When will calm reign?" To be perfectly frank, these questions should be addressed to those who are sabotaging work at the enterprises, who are preventing normal movement of the city's transportation, who are permitting manifestations of hooliganism.

Today, bon fires are burning at night on the city's main square. Wouldn't it be better if the hot fires burned in peaceful hearths and if this square that bears the name of V.I. Lenin were not a place of alarm but, as formerly, a place of our triumphs?

#### **AzSSR First Secretary Vezirov on Social Responsibility of Intelligentsia**

18300310h Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY in Russian  
16 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[AZERINFORM report: "The Lofty Duty of the Intelligentsia: A Meeting at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The revolutionary restructuring that is taking place in our country is impossible without energizing society's intellectual and spiritual potential. The Party is counting on a high degree of responsibility toward the people on the part of the intelligentsia. These fundamental positions served as a basis for discussion at a meeting between the first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, A. Kh. Vezirov, and leaders in the field of culture, scholars, and directors of scientific institutions, creative unions, and the republic's mass information media.

The meeting began with the showing of a video-taped interview with Comrade M.S. Gorbachev before his departure by plane from Yerevan. The very high assessment which he made of the internationalism of the people of the Soviet Union who have extended the hand of fraternal help to the Armenian people and his rebuke



of those who, in an hour of great tragedy and grief, are trying for their own, base, selfish purposes, to sow enmity between our neighboring republics, set the tone for the discussion.

The participants in this meeting noted that, in his meetings with people who lived through the horror of the earthquake, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev found words of sincerest sympathy, of deep commiseration, and stressed that everything possible will be done to more quickly eliminate the consequences of the disaster. The tragedy in Armenia, which has become the misfortune of all Soviet people, is viewed with great sorrow by the people of Azerbaijan. It was noted with satisfaction that the residents of Azerbaijan were among the first to come to the rescue of their Armenian brothers and that they will also in the future extend them support and concern. It is in this light that our intelligentsia as well sees its own important task—in word and in deed to help to ensure that people, who have lived side-by-side for centuries and whose destinies have been joined to one another by the will of history, do not permit themselves to be distracted into discord and hostility but will find within themselves the honesty and the dignity to overcome these. We cannot violate that dangerous boundary which leads to catastrophe. No statements made by those who place their own nationalistic, egoistic, and clannish interests above the unhappiness of people, who strive to sow hatred between two fraternal peoples, it was emphasized at the meeting, will have any influence on our feelings of solidarity. Our peoples have to live on this earth, to live together, and nothing can drive us apart.

The anxiety and the alarm expressed by M.S. Gorbachev concerning events in the region, the speakers said, finds deep understanding among the people of Azerbaijan and its intelligentsia. The Party's assessment, given by the Soviet leader, of the actions of political demagogues, adventurists, and corrupt elements who are engaged in a struggle for power and, in these aims, are stirring up the two peoples against each other, has been universally approved by the public within our republic. His assurance that everything will be done in order to emerge from this misfortune even stronger and more united was taken by the intelligentsia as a mandate to intensify their own efforts, with all possible persistence and purposefulness to facilitate implementation of the party's policies, the cause of restructuring. In this connection, particular emphasis was placed on the necessity for a final normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

Speaking at the meeting, Azerbaijan SSR People's Writer Mirza Ibragimov, faculty head at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Dzhangir Kerimov, Azerbaijan SSR People's Writer Bairam Bairamov, Vice President of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Dzhamil Guliyev, the first secretary of the

administration of the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Composers and Azerbaijan SSR People's Artist Akshin Ali-zadae, the deputy chief editor of the journal SOVETS-KAYA TYURKOLOGIYA Aydyn Mamedov, USSR People's Artist Rashid Beybutov, and department chief at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature imeni Nizak, Kasum Kasumadze emphasized that overcoming the difficulties that have arisen will, in large measure, depend upon the party convictions of the intelligentsia, on their ability to evaluate wisely the state of affairs and to explain intelligibly to the people what has happened. It is precisely in the spirit of internationalism, of unity, of solidarity of all healthy forces that the scientific and artistic intelligentsia must act.

This was once again confirmed, it was noted at the meeting, during the recent events in Baku and other places. In the course of meetings, the intelligentsia for the most part has made a proper showing of itself. In the addresses of the participants in this meeting, a demand was heard to call to account those who have been guilty of excesses, of disruptions, who have attempted by any means to hinder the processes of restructuring and the normalization of life within the republic.

With legitimate concern, the question has been raised of how it is possible that semi-literate, ideologically unprincipled, and irresponsible people such as Panakhov and Gaiem have been allowed to enter the arena. Some representatives of the intelligentsia have been unable by the logic of conviction, knowledge, and argument to demonstrate to participants in meetings how harmful, how foreign to our system certain slogans and appeals are. And there also have been those who have turned to powder and avoided a decisive battle with the anti-restructuring forces. Unfortunately, some have lost their clear points of orientation while others have turned out to be prisoners of the mood of the moment or have surrendered to emotions which, as is known, are bad advisors. This has been used by the organizers of disturbances who, through demagogic and sometimes even prevocational appeals, have attempted to attract irresponsible young people to their side. This is why it is so necessary to remember always that we must distance ourselves from events of such significance to the people!

It is the duty of the intelligentsia to be constantly in the very midst of the people, to exert a beneficial influence on them, to see the difference between manifestations of national self-consciousness and nationalism. All our scholars, writers, composers, and artists should support the positions of the Party, should not walk away from discussions and dialogues, particularly with young people, and should explain to the broad masses of workers the policies of the party, the goals and problems of restructuring. Passionate words from representatives of science and culture, words imbued with a concern for the destiny of their country, of their native republic, must be heard ever more loudly within industrial enterprises, at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in workers' dormitories and student classrooms. Representatives of the intelligentsia

have joined propagandistic groups formed by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and will be meeting more frequently with labor collectives.

The intelligentsia of Azerbaijan is closely consolidated around the Party, the speakers noted and will, in the future as well, actively participate in the processes of restructuring, of renewing the life of society on the principles of democratization and glasnost. A high evaluation was given of the work that has been done by the republic Party organization during recent months, of the course taken by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee toward improving the well-being of the people and affirming the principles of social justice.

Participants in the meeting declared in the name of the creative intelligentsia that they will be faithful contributors to the cause of implementing the broad program of social and economic transformations and moral renewal in the republic. Also discussed with great concern were the problems which have accumulated over the years in the Azerbaijani countryside, particularly those of mountain villages. Representatives of science and culture face a great deal of work here. There is much to be done with regard to providing rural workers and young people access to the riches of culture and to improving the healthfulness of their way of life.

Today, it was pointed out at the meeting, there is a great deal of talk about the responsibility of the intelligentsia for the solution of ecological problems. But no less important is the question of man's spiritual ecology, his moral education.

A serious situation, one that is disturbing to everyone, has arisen within the republic in connection with resettlement from Armenia. Representatives of the intelligentsia noted with great satisfaction the large amount of timely work done in connection with helping to settle those people who have been forced to leave their homes, with helping them get established. Many have been surrounded with care and attention. But at the same time, it was pointed out at the meeting, a kind word of concern, support, and sympathy is no less important for these people than is a place to live, or warm clothing.

Approving the firm, consistent struggle being waged by the Central Committee and by the republic's entire party organization to clean up the moral atmosphere of society and corruption among cadres, the speakers came out in support of continuing to pursue this work decisively and actively.

In view of recent events, in which young people attending school have taken part, the question of teachers' responsibility for the upbringing of the rising generation was broached with particular sharpness at the meeting. Unfortunately, the moral level of some of those who are called upon to educate young people is still extremely

low: They do not have any right to be working with the rising generation, either on the grounds of their knowledge or of their moral qualities and ideological convictions.

Note was made of the necessity of raising the level of scientific thought within the republic. And this, in turn, gives rise to a problem connected with strengthening the potential of scientific cadres. In this connection, it was reported that the USSR Academy of Sciences intends to visit Baku for the purpose of helping the republic academy of sciences to restructure its operations. Among the first-priority measures aimed at energizing the social disciplines, it has been proposed that a "round table" be organized through the efforts of scientists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences for discussion of political science, juridical, intellectual and moral problems.

The development of scientific thought is being fettered to a definite degree by the weak work of the "Elm" publishing house of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences. Order must be introduced and the material and technical base should be strengthened here. Not only the academic publishing house needs this, but also all the other ones which enter into the system of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for Publishing. The question was raised of strengthening the leadership of this sector.

It was pointed out at the meeting that our scientists and cultural figures frequently are lacking in the initiative and persistence to participate in various fora, both within the country as well as abroad, at which problems of relations between nationalities are being discussed. The Azerbaijan Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries and the "Veten" society for cultural ties with countrymen living abroad should more actively propagandize the socio-economic transformations that are taking place within the republic and the internationalist position of its workers. The establishment of an Azerbaijan SSR cultural center in Moscow should be accelerated.

Having thanked the representatives of the intelligentsia for their considerable work, so necessary to the people and to the cause of restructuring, the first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, A. Kh. Vezirov said: The Party will in the future, as well, expect the most energetic help and support from those who are the conscience of the nation and who give expression to its spiritual strivings. During the days of the recent events in Baku and other cities in the republic, the scientific and artistic intelligentsia and their creative unions conducted themselves with merit and, together with the party organizations and soviet organs, did much to normalize the situation.

At the same time, that which has taken place, having shown both our strength as well as a certain weakness, must serve as an instructive lesson for all. It is no secret that there were more than a few scientific workers and

teachers of higher educational institutions among the organizers of the disturbances. And this testifies to the great neglect of ideological work within the Academy of Sciences and educational institutions.

But, negative experience is nonetheless experience from which it is necessary to draw appropriate conclusions. One of the most serious omissions in the activity of the republic party organization in the recent past has been its scornful attitude toward work among the intelligentsia, in particular among writers, scientists, and workers of the mass information media, toward their political tempering. But, indeed, their influence on the formation of public opinion is exceptionally great, and this is why it is so destructive when this originates with politically immature people. We see our problem to be to considerably strengthen work with this category of people. A series of meetings with writers and artists, including young ones, have taken place within the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and regular meetings with journalists have become the rule. Of course, far from all has been done. Work with the intelligentsia is a continuous affair and we intend to concern ourselves with in the most serious way.

Now, Comrade Vezirov stressed, we need to do everything in order to revive and develop the internationalist traditions for which Baku and Azerbaijan have always been famous. In this, we expect the broadest possible participation of our intelligentsia.

We are pleased that, in this course of today's meeting, there has been a useful, open, confident discussion of the role and place of the intelligentsia in the struggle for restructuring. It is also gratifying that its participants have totally supported the policies of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee for normalizing the situation within the republic, for the solution of nationality problems on a Leninist basis, and for affirmation of the principles of socialist internationalism and of a healthy moral situation.

In its day-to-day work, the intelligentsia must place a heavy accent on the search for constructive solutions to the problems of restructuring, in the processes of which all our creative forces can and should be actively involved. We have great potential here, and it must be used to the maximum.

We are convinced, A. Kh. Vezirov said in conclusion, that those who are active in Azerbaijani science, literature and art will make a worthy contribution to the struggle for restructuring.

Taking part in the meeting were comrades R. Ya. Zeynalov, S.N. Alekperov, and the deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, E.M. Kafarova.

### Armenian Curfew Regulations as of 6 Dec Announced

18300268a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
6 Dec 88 p 1

[Announcement by Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, military commandant, special region: "An Announcement to the Citizens of the Armenian SSR"]

[Text] Ten days after the introduction of the curfew the situation in this republic may be described as follows:

In Yerevan the situation is calm. Economic life has resumed its smoothly operating pace. An absolute majority of the individual enterprises of Armenia's capital have resumed their activities; transportation and all municipal services are functioning normally.

The working people are extensively discussing the results of the work done by the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as the results of the meeting held in the CPSU Central Committee between M.S. Gorbachev and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet with representatives of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR.

As of 5 December, 10,395 persons had been checked on by the military commandant's offices of the city of Yerevan, 3,245 persons detained for violating the curfew, and 49 persons arrested for terms ranging from 3 to 30 days. There were no incidents or crimes connected with the introduction of the curfew in Yerevan.

However, in a number of this republic's rayons the situation is extremely tense and fraught with dangerous consequences. Influenced by poorly thought-out statements uttered by certain citizens, as well as by the growth of contradictory items of information and rumors, disorders have occurred, unsanctioned meetings have been held, along with illegal actions, and crimes have been committed on national soil. Persons have been killed in Kalininskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Masisskiy, and Gugarskiy Rayons.

Taking all this into consideration, for the purpose of guaranteeing the safety of citizens' lives, ensuring the normal operation of transport, enterprises, and public institutions, as well as supporting the necessary order in the rayons and the populated centers adjoining them, beginning at 2300 hours on 5 December, a state of emergency and a curfew are hereby introduced in the following 16 rayons of the Armenian SSR:

—Amassisskiy—Gugarskiy—Spitakskiy—Idzhevanskiy—Noyemberyanskiy—Tumanyanskiy with the city of Alaverdi as its center—Krasnoselskiy—Kalininskiy—Stepanavanskiy—Araratskiy—Masisskiy—Kafanskiy—Gorissskiy—Sisianskiy—Yekhenadzorskiy—Vardenisskiy



With this goal in mind, a number of special measures are being introduced, regulating the lives and activities of these rayons' citizens, as well as the operation of institutions, enterprises, and other public institutions:

1. From 2300 hours to 600 hours free pedestrian traffic shall cease throughout the entire rayon, with the exception of persons having special passes.

2. From 6 December 1988 on the work of soviet, cooperative, and public organizations shall begin at 900 hours and end at 2000 hours.

3. All transport shall operate as follows: from 700 hours to 2200 hours, except for motor vehicles having special passes.

4. Cultural, residential, and everyday-service enterprises shall operate according to the following schedule: motion-picture theaters, playhouses, bathhouses, barber-shops, and public-dining facilities shall cease operations at 2100 hours.

5. Hours of trade in stores shall be established from 700 hours to 2000 hours, kolkhoz trade until 1800 hours.

All citizens coming in to trade at the markets shall be obliged to have a passport or personal ID, and shall leave the city limits prior to 2100 hours.

6. The unsanctioned organization and holding of assemblies, processions, demonstrations, or political meetings shall be prohibited.

7. In order to ensure the uninterrupted operation of urban enterprises and institutions, all working people shall be charged with the obligation of unconditionally reporting to their workplaces and carrying out their civic duties.

The responsibility for and monitoring controls over the observance of labor discipline shall devolve on the leading officials of the ministries, departments, enterprises, and institutions.

8. The ispolkoms of the rayon-level soviets of people's deputies, in conjunction with their colleagues from the internal-affairs organs, shall organize the checking of the passport system and, in necessary cases, shall detain and search suspicious persons.

9. All local organs of state authority, state and public institutions, organizations, and enterprises shall be duty-bound to render all manner of assistance to the military command in ensuring public order and safety.

10. For refusing to heed the dispositions and orders of the military and local organs of authority, the guilty persons shall be subject to administrative and criminal responsibility in accordance with the existing legislation.

11. I hereby assign the monitoring controls over carrying out the above-mentioned measures to the ispolkoms of the city of Yerevan, the rayispolkoms of the ArSSR, and the military commandants of the rayons involved.

This required measure is dictated by harsh necessity and is directed at protecting your interests, as well as your rights and values as Soviet citizens.

We call upon you to remain calm, to manifest self-control, mutual respect for each other, and an unconditional compliance with the clauses of this curfew.

#### Armenian Official on Educational Issues Regarding AzSSR Refugees

18300268b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
6 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Karen Aramovich Astabatyán, deputy chief, VUZ Administration, Armenian SSR Ministry of Public Education, by *KOMMUNIST* correspondent; date and place not given; first paragraph is *KOMMUNIST* introduction: "So That Studies May Not Be Interrupted: A Timely Interview"]

[Text] According to official data, the number of Armenians who have left their permanent place of residence in Azerbaijan in connection with the well-known events of the last few months has already exceeded 50,000 and is continuing to grow. Among the refugees a significant percentage consists of student youth, including students from VUZ's [higher educational institutions]. Now their fate is taking shape and what is being undertaken so that young fellows and girls may be able to continue their studies comprise the topic of the interview between *KOMMUNIST*'s correspondent and K. Astabatyán, deputy chief, VUZ Administration Armenian SSR Ministry of Public Education.

[Correspondent] Karen Aramovich, first of all, tell us the scope of this phenomenon.

[Astabatyán] From the time of the ill-starred Sumgait tragedy to yesterday more than 1,250 Armenian students enrolled at Azerbaijan's VUZ's have appealed to us for transfers. With respect to time, the process of the student youth migration can be divided into two stages. During the first of them, which began immediately after the Sumgait events, our republic's institutes accepted about a thousand students engaged in various courses and forms of study. All of them received the opportunity to complete the academic year in Armenia's VUZ's in their chosen field of specialization or one closely related to it.

At this point, however, we encountered a problem which has not yet been resolved even now. In a formal sense, the transfer of these students or their re-enrollment in a VUZ has not been completed, inasmuch as the educational institutions in which they were previously enrolled have not yet sent us the personal records of these students. For this reason most of the young persons who

have come here are deprived of the opportunity to obtain stipends; the matter of filling out and granting their diplomas has been complicated.

A month ago M. Mamedov, the AzSSR Minister of Public Education, came here and assured us that this problem would be resolved without delay. Up to now, however, no results have been seen. Suffice it to say that of the 75 students who have transferred to the Yerevan State University, the personal records have arrived for only two.

And a second wave of student-refugees has now rolled in over us in connection with the newly worsened situation in the region concerned. In fact, more than 250 persons arrived last week, and this flood shows no signs of diminishing. The overwhelming majority are students in the first-year or last-year courses.

[Correspondent] It must be assumed that, like their predecessors, they have also gotten the chance to continue their studies in Armenia.

[Astabatyán] There's nothing to prevent it, but.... At this juncture you and I seem to be straying somewhat from the principal topic of our conversation. Circumstances have evolved in such a way that what is at stake here today is the fate not only of those hundreds of young fellows and girls who have arrived here from a neighboring republic, but also of thousands and thousands of students who are indigenous inhabitants of Armenia. Take a look at the calendar—December has begun, and in other years by this time the schedule of the winter examinations has already been drawn up. But nowadays work has not yet begun in earnest at our VUZ's and in our lectures.

Unless classes at the institutes start moving at full speed ahead literally tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, this semester and, consequently, the entire academic year will have to be nullified. Next year all students would remain in the same courses as at present. There would be no graduation, nor would any new students be accepted for enrollment at VUZ's. You don't have to be an important specialist in the field of education to imagine all the consequences of this unprecedented phenomenon. Let's ask ourselves the question: who needs all this?

[Correspondent] Well, now, let's hope that our kids will study hard during the time remaining and thereby be able to fill in the missing gaps to a certain extent, and that the professors and the rest of the teaching staff at the VUZ's will render them all kinds of help in this endeavor. And so, how will things stand with the newly arrived students?

[Astabatyán] All of them will also be studying at our VUZ's. I won't conceal the fact that there are difficulties—and considerable ones at that. One of them is arranging things for those students whose major field of specialization has no analogy here in our republic or

anything closely related to it. It's not yet too bad when the student is enrolled in the first-year courses. His study program can be restructured. But it will be more complicated when the students are in their final year of studies and must present their diploma projects within a few months. At present we are seeking out various ways to solve this problem.

There are likewise great difficulties with regard to persons enrolled in correspondence and evening divisions. Most of them have, in fact, been dismissed from their previous places of employment and have not yet been placed in jobs in our republic. And, according to the new requirements, the only persons who can enroll in studies without a break from the production line are those who are working specifically in a chosen field of specialization. Obviously, the circumstance should be taken into account by those organs engaging in job placement for the refugees.

A third serious obstacle on the path to solving this problem is the language barrier. It's no secret that most of the Armenian students arriving from Azerbaijan are not fluent in, or have a poor command of, the Armenian language. And thereby they are already not on an equal footing with our native students. Therefore, we must organize intensive study of the Armenian languages for them and, in the initial period, furnish those who need them with textbooks written in Russian.

[Correspondent] At what level are the problems connected with the student-refugees continuing their studies being solved, and what specifically is being done?

[Astabatyán] It must be said that this republic's government effectively reacted to the situation which had been created, and it has already adopted the appropriate decree. The latter will allow us to create at the institutes additional groups for conducting auditorium-type, practical, and laboratory-type classes, to provide dormitories for those who need them, to solve the problem of stipends, and to undertake other measures which are called for in order to speed up the students' adaptation to their new conditions. Of course, a great deal here likewise depends upon our VUZ's collectives—on their good will, sensitivity, and attention to these young persons to whose lot has fallen so many harsh experiences and disturbances.

[Correspondent] While I have a chance, I would like to learn about the decision concerning the matter of the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute.

[Astabatyán] As you know, at the suggestion of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] leadership, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision temporarily closing down the Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute. Some of the student body—Armenians by nationality—were transferred to the Kirovakan Pedagogical Institute and have already begun classes. Several of the VUZ's instructors also moved here together with their students.

At the same time we proposed to the republic- and union-level directorial organs that an educational-consultation center be opened in Stepanakert for the purpose of organizing the educational process of correspondence students so that they may have the opportunity to continue their education without a break from their labor activities. It is intended that the UKP [educational-consultation center] will also serve the correspondence students of other VUZ's.

As you can see, all necessary measures are being undertaken. It remains for the young persons to buckle down to their studies and make up for lost ground.

### Architect Cites Construction Flaws in Armenian Quake Damage

18300291a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
25 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by P. Dzhangirov, chief project architect, Department No 2, "Armremproyekt" Institute: "Until It Thunders..."]

[Text] The first question people asked after the shock of reports of the December 7th catastrophe had passed was: "How could this have happened?" Why did buildings that were for the most part new collapse? Why did seemingly superstrong girders and columns crumble like matchsticks? Why did panels and walls break to pieces? Initially, the press contained timid, then more and more confident pronouncements that the poor quality of construction was one of the main reasons for such massive destruction. N. I. Ryzhov talked about this in no uncertain terms at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in Yerevan: "Preliminary assessments by specialists indicate that the quality of construction was very low. There were major technological violations. These are entirely preliminary assessments. A government commission was created. It will arrive at its findings and of course very serious conclusions will be drawn."

A strict but just assessment. The problem of the quality of construction is not new. The republic occupies one of the last places in the nation in this respect.

For many years, attention has been focused primarily on the quality of finishing work. Windows that do not close, crooked doors, leaky ceilings—how many times we have seen such pictures on the television screen and read about the builders' inferior work in the newspapers.

The danger, it turned out, ran deeper. It afflicted the components of buildings and their load-bearing base.

Powerful underground tremors shook off the plaster, revealing wire instead of reinforcing rods, a weak cement-sand mixture instead of high-grade concrete, and ugly rusty scabs where there should have been even welded seams. Even a superficial look at the ruins revealed certain patterns. Butt joints were the most

vulnerable feature of frame-and-panel buildings. Quite rigid prefabricated wall panels and floor slabs assembled into high-rise buildings went to pieces like houses of cards. The point where tuff blockwork combined with reinforced concrete became the Achilles' heel of masonry buildings because the builders did not concern themselves with the structural connection between them.

Reinforced concrete which is supposed to strengthen masonry blockwork in actual fact weakened it and destroyed its solidity.

Today much is said about restricting the number of stories of buildings in zones of heightened seismic activity. And yet the Leninakan Shirak Hotel—a 12-story cast-in-place building—remained standing while prefabricated 9-story buildings turned into mountains of rubble. Nor was the Leninakan Theater—a large-span building—damaged by the earthquake. But the *Avastan* movie theater, which was built according to a standardized design, is in ruins. I note that we are discussing buildings that were erected at virtually the same time—during the decades of the so-called "stagnant period."

Have we not become the victims of many years of appeals to cut construction costs and to reduce design and construction time. The persistence with which the republic Ministry of Industrial Construction and Gostroy oppose cast-in-place construction and progressive prefabricated earthquakeproof variants is worthy of better application.

As regards state acceptance, which was introduced in the relatively recent past, it has not proved to be capable of withstanding the dictates of the builders, for whom prefab design and finishing costs are the main indicators of the quality of a project. It is said that when experienced designers make their calculations, they exaggerate the cross sections of the reinforcements and upgrade the mortar just to be on the safe side. However, when the builders become aware of this "safety margin," they make adjustments in the opposite direction not without benefit to themselves. After all, it is highly unlikely that the plastered and grouted interior, covered with dirt and hidden by thick walls, will ever be visible to the world. Naturally assuming that nothing goes wrong. And if nothing had not gone wrong, we do not know how long all this could have continued. A potential earthquake is programmed for every city situated in a seismically active zone. But the forecast varies even within the limits of the same city street. For Yerevan, Leninakan, and Kirovakan—7-8 points. For the outwardly fortunate Masis and Artashat, the level of seismic activity rises to 9 points.

When you look at the city's relief, which resembles a stormy sea, or more precisely the former city of Spitak, you realize that hardly anything could have survived here. The city proved to be at the epicenter of a tectonic fault. However, the design norms assign a general seismicity of 7 points to Spitak. This is what Gennadiy



Sobolev, doctor of physico-mathematical sciences; chairman of a group of experts for forecasting earthquakes in the USSR, wrote in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI:

"To all appearances, the 10-point shock was confined to the epicenter: the town of Spitak. The intensity of the shock was lower in Leninakan and Kirovakan. Nevertheless, almost all the buildings crumbled. How could this happen?"

Alas, there is one answer: their strength, their resistance to underground tremors were much less (my emphasis—P. D.) than prescribed for an 8-point zone. They were in all probability poorly built."

Seismologists will still have to draw a precise picture of the underground storm. But fact remains fact. The percent of emergency structures, including those built in the relatively recent past, is high in Armenia.

Yerevanskiy Achapnyak, dwellings on Shiraki street in Kirovakan, buildings in Echmiadzin and Oktemberyan—you can't count them all. The geography of careless construction work is vast. It turned out that not only seismic activity but also climate and specific building conditions were not taken into account.

The white felsite of the administrative and public buildings in Abovyan cannot withstand sharp temperature fluctuations and ruptures due to capillary moisture. The marble in Yerevan subway stations is not protected by waterproofing and is eroded by ground water. But the state of housing is greatest source of concern.

The preventive maintenance of buildings is according to familiar scheme: finishing and painting. There is practically no inspection and preventive examination of load-bearing components. Plans for repairing individual buildings in need of repair are not actually carried out because of the labor-intensiveness and high cost of restoration work. Executive councils find it better to invest in new construction than to restore old structures.

Possibly, what has happened will force designers, builders, and clients to revise their views of the existing state of affairs which are dictated more by the inertia of thought than reason.

The elements are blind and spare neither the righteous nor the innocent. A five-story building erected in the center of Leninakan by builders for themselves and their families collapsed just like all the other buildings erected by them.

As the well-known saying goes: "Until it thunders, the peasant doesn't cross himself."

#### **ArSSR: People's Control Committee Official on Relief Distribution**

18300291b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
25 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with Gerasim Aramansovich Martirosyan, candidate member, Armenian CP Central Committee; chairman, Armenian SSR KNK (People's Control Committee), by an Armenpress Correspondent: "Preserve and Make Rational Use of Everything That Has Been Received"; place and date not specified]

[Text] The population of regions of Soviet Armenia hit by the earthquake is receiving gratuitous material aid from all corners of our vast country and from scores of countries on all continents. Medicines, clothing, machinery, and equipment are being shipped to the republic. The reception, shipment, storage, and distribution of incoming resources are being organized in order to preclude loss and spoilage. Party and Komsomol activists and people's control personnel are actively participating in this work. At the request of an Armenpress correspondent, this effort is described by G. A. Martirosyan, candidate member, Armenian CP Central Committee; chairman, Armenian SSR People's Control Committee.

[Question] Gerasim Aramansovich, how are the reception, accounting, and distribution of goods received in the republic organized? Numerous reports indicate that there is a certain degree of confusion here.

[Martirosyan] As is known, material aid began arriving by air, rail, and truck starting 11 December, i. e., on the fourth day following the earthquake when general attention was focused on rescuing the victims, on giving them medical aid, and on organizing the supply of food, drinking water, medicines, fuel, and the primary necessities.

During the first days, aid was dispatched directly from airports to the scene where it was distributed by headquarters personnel. In the existing emergency situation, unfortunately not enough attention was devoted to the organization of the accounting of incoming shipments at Zvartnots Airport and at the bases and this led to the negative press reports.

On 12 December, an operational republic headquarters headed by Yu. Ye. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman, Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, was established for the purpose of coordinating work at airports and at the Yerevan railroad station, for the accounting and safe custody of incoming materials and goods. The establishment of the headquarters was instrumental in bringing order to the unloading and distribution of freight.

Taking the existing situation into account, USSR KNK and Armenian KNK personnel together with the operational headquarters have devised additional measures to

ensure the integrity of incoming shipments. These measures have been legalized by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. It is specified that all incoming freight shall be delivered to the republic Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Health, Gosnab, and Gosagroprom for further distribution to specific localities by a specially formed dispatching group. Accompanying documents have been developed.

Security measures have been developed for aircraft unloading points at airports and a system of passes has been introduced. Airplanes are now unloaded by units of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Republic internal affairs organs are engaged in a considerable effort to secure the integrity of freight. All motor vehicles are accompanied to their destination by representatives of party and Komsomol organizations.

For the purpose of monitoring the course of the receipt, accounting, and shipment of freight, the Armenian SSR KNK has set up working groups (consisting of 6-7 members of the republic committee and the Yerevan city and rayon committees) at airports and at the Yerevan station.

It should be noted that a heavy load is carried by the Zvartnots Airport. As noted, incoming and outgoing shipments have been monitored at that port since 13 December. Since that time, there have been 513 incoming airplanes, including 190 from foreign countries. They delivered 15.5 thousand tons of freight, including 6.1 thousand from abroad. On some days, heavy cargo planes landed at that airport at 12-15-minute intervals. Seventy-two airplanes from different cities in the nation arrived at Erebuni Airport. The shipments included about 4.8 tons of medicines, 15 tons of food, and clothing. Therefore in addition to freight unloading and transfer operations, the precise operation of the bases to which freight is delivered is of major importance. Republic people's control organs organized control commissions that maintain a 24-hour watch to ensure the integrity of incoming shipments at 19 freight-receiving bases and reception points.

Under extreme conditions, when many shipments of goods were received and recorded at numerous points, monitoring at the bases promotes their integrity.

At the same time, I cannot say that there are no shortcomings in this major effort, that the goods are preserved in their entirety, and that they are delivered to the addressees. Internal affairs organs have detected cases of theft both in the unloading process and at distribution points. A number of violations bordering on abuses have been detected by people's control organs. Thus, on 19 December, 419 vehicles loaded with various kinds of cargo departed from Zvartnots Airport. In 13 instances, bases recorded cargo at 17 fewer places than were

shipped to. From 20 to 23 December, 19 vehicles delivered cargo to 23 fewer places than indicated. All these facts have been supplied to the internal affairs organs for investigation.

Other examples: between 18 and 29 December, in 21 instances consignee warehouses recorded larger quantities of cargo than indicated in the documents.

The great majority of people participating in the reception, storage, and realization of cargo work honestly. Unfortunately, there are still people who warm their hands on the sorrow of the Armenian people. It is our job to find them and to call them strictly to account. In this work we are counting on the working people, on the entire republic community. You can report violations by telephone by calling 52-95-83.

[Question] You mentioned deliveries of medicines and medical equipment. Please tell about them in more detail—after all, they are specifically what the republic's hospitals need urgently.

[Martirosyan] The Armenian KNK together with the Armenian Trade Union Council and the Central Committee of the Armenian Komsomol organized three brigades for the purpose of regularizing and monitoring the organization of the reception, registration, and issuance of medicines from Ministry of Health bases.

The ministry has accordingly set up commissions for receiving and distributing medicines and medical equipment. Representatives of the Ministry of Health are on duty 24 hours a day, receiving and sending the goods that are received to the warehouse of 14 of Yerevan's large medical institutions.

However there are also a number of substantial shortcomings regarding the question of receiving medicines. Many cases of medicines of various types have been received from foreign countries. The Ministry of Health must organize a special group of specialists and translators to ensure the prompt issuance and proper use of medicines. This is especially important because the warehouses contain a large quantity of medical equipment and medicines that have a limited storage life.

There has also been a significant increase in rail shipments and therefore the question of prompt unloading is advanced to the forefront. Based on a decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo's commission for coordinating work in this direction, a headquarters was established under the direction of V. I. Manayev, deputy chairman of the USSR KNK. The headquarters is staffed by responsible workers of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the Yerevan City Party Committee, and the Party Control Committee of a number of ministries and departments. The republic KNK, in turn, created special groups for monitoring and assisting railroad stations as well as enterprises and organizations in the round-the-clock unloading of incoming railroad cars.

Owing to the measures that have been taken, the number of railroad cars that are unloaded has grown and now totals 1600-1650 a day. However, in view of the quantity of freight, the level of unloading operations is not sufficient. This can lead to serious difficulties.

The heads of a number of enterprises and organizations belonging to Aykoop, the Ministry of Trade, Gosnab, Gosstroy, and Gosagroprom still do not realize the importance of speeding up the unloading of rail cars, are operating in the old way, and are permitting considerable idle time. Many stations have been put out of commission by the earthquake and ways must now be found to ensure the accelerated unloading cars and the prompt cleaning of empty cars. In this important work, they can count on the aid of republic party and Soviet organs and people's controllers.

#### **Decree on Priority Measures for Armenian Post-Quake Construction**

18300292a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
21 Dec 88 p 1

[Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Top-Priority Measures for the Development of the Production Base of the Construction Industry and the Construction Materials Industry in 1989-1990 for the Liquidation of the Consequences of the Earthquake in the Armenian SSR"]

[Text] In the interest of creating the necessary production base in the construction industry and the construction materials industry for the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR, the USSR Council of Ministers decrees that:

1. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Construction Materials Industry, the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, USSR Gosagroprom, and the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy:

shall take immediate measures to restore subordinate enterprises in the construction industry and construction materials industry that suffered from the earthquake and to organize normal work at these enterprises;

shall secure the transition to three- and four-shift and continuous operation based on the improved use of existing and restored capacities, shall where necessary carry out the technical retooling and reconstruction of enterprises, and shall increase the production of construction materials and components required for the earliest possible liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake.

That the proposal of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to implement top-priority measures to develop capacities for the production of walling and nonmetallic materials, porous fillers from local volcanic rock, reinforced-concrete components, commercial grade concrete, joinery, linoleum, and other materials required to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR shall be adopted.

2. That USSR Gosstroy, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments of the USSR and union republics shall secure the development of plans (corresponding to the leading technical level) for the construction, reconstruction, and technical retooling of objects belonging to the production base of the construction industry and construction materials industry as indicated in the present decree for the volume of work in 1989 in the first quarter of 1989. That planning work shall be completed before 1 July 1989.

3. That USSR Gosnab and USSR Gosstroy shall in 1989 on the basis of reserves and the redistribution between customers, and that the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, and the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR shall in 1989 manufacture and deliver to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and ministries and departments participating in the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake easy-to-install crushing, sorting, and concrete-mixing units; stone-cutting quarry machinery; cassettes; mobile boiler units; transformer substations; and other technological equipment; and easy-to-assemble buildings made of lightweight metal components.

That USSR Gosstroy shall distribute this equipment among organizations.

That USSR Gosplan, USSR Gosnab, USSR Gosstroy, ministries and departments shall allocate equipment enumerated for the year 1990 enumerated in appendix No 2 of the annual plan.

4. That the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers shall in 1989-1990 purchase imported technological equipment, construction machinery and mechanisms, and cast-in-site equipment used in the construction of dwellings and other objects in the social sphere.



5. That the USSR Ministry of Defense shall in the first quarter of 1989 transfer to Armenian SSR Gosstroy areas within the Talinskiy and Oktemberyanskiy regions of the Armenian SSR within the contours of the Partizaskoye and Lukashinskoye deposits for the organization of tuff quarries and the production of walling and porous fillers on its basis.

6. That the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers shall in the first half of 1989 complete construction on and activate capacities for the production of 1.2 million tons of cement at the Araratskiy Cement and Gravel Combine and in 1981—the second phase of that combine with a capacity of 1.2 million tons.

That the Ministry of Construction in Northern and Western Regions of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction in Southern Regions of the USSR, and the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions of the USSR shall in the first half of 1989 complete construction-installation work on a subcontracting basis together with Armenian SSR Gosstroy at the Araratskiy Cement and Gravel Combine in the volume agreed upon with it.

7. That the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building shall in the first quarter of 1989 secure the restoration and activation of the "Stroy-mashina" Plant in Leninakan and in 1989-1990 secure its expansion with an increase in the capacity for the production of technological equipment from 11 to 27 million rubles a year.

That 200 stonecutting quarry machines shall be manufactured and delivered to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers in 1989, and that 200 of the machines shall be manufactured and delivered in 1990.

That the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry shall manufacture and deliver to the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building drives for the indicated machines.

8. That the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry shall deliver to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers in 1989-1990 two million m<sup>2</sup> window units and door assemblies a year for the construction of dwellings and other objects in the social sphere.

Together with the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, in the first half of 1989 a facility for producing window units from blanks supplied by cooperatives shall be established

9. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers shall through the improved use of existing capacities, through the technical retooling of enterprises, and by operating them in a larger number of shifts increase the production of

nonmetallic materials in 1989 by no less than 400,000 m<sup>3</sup>, porous fillers—400,000 m<sup>3</sup>, and walling—150,000 m<sup>3</sup> against the control figures established for that year.

10. That the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers shall be authorized to commence the construction of facilities in the construction industry and the construction materials industry in accordance with the present decree on the basis of overall capital investments and material-technical resources allocated to the republic for 1989.

That based on the results of the conclusion of the contract [podryad] for 1989, USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, and USSR Gosstroy shall as of 16 December 1988 make the appropriate changes in plans for capital construction and material-technical supply necessary to carry out the present decree.

11. That the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers together with USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy shall also examine proposals by foreign states to render assistance to the Armenian SSR in developing the base of the republic's construction industry and the construction materials industry and shall reach a decision.

12. That the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, USSR Gosstroy, USSR Gosplan, and USSR Gossnab shall, based on the results of a survey of production buildings, housing, and other objects of the social sphere of the Armenian SSR that have suffered from the earthquake, develop a program for the additional development of the republic's construction base.

That the appropriate proposals shall be submitted on questions requiring the decisions of the USSR government.

#### **Initial Results of Armenian City Reconstruction Planning Commission**

18300292b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
30 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by A. Aleksanyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Gosstroy; A. Krivov, deputy chairman of the Goskomarkhitektura, chairman of the State Interdepartmental Commission on City Planning; and G. Pogosyan, director of the Armgosproyekt Institute: "The State Interdepartmental Commission on City Planning Has Obtained Its First Results"]

[Text] The unprecedented volume of construction work, the high concentration of construction at individual sites, and the large number of contractor organizations demand a well thought-out system for the organization of construction work and city planning.

In the interests of the effective solution of problems relating to the planning and development of population centers in regions of Northern Armenia that were damaged by the earthquake, the State Interdepartmental Commission on City Planning started operation already on 10 December 1988.

Its basic tasks were to survey population centers damaged by the earthquake, to organize efforts to correct the master plans of population centers, engineering equipment systems, and plans for the detailed planning and development of regions of new construction in accordance with the volume of construction of the councils of ministers of all union republics, Moscow gorispolkom, Moscow oblispolkom, Leningrad gorispolkom, and 8 of the nation's largest ministries.

In the period 1989-1990, a total of approximately 4 million m<sup>2</sup> of general area of housing must be built in cities and rayon centers, including the construction and restoration of individual citizens' dwelling houses, tens of schools and preschool institutions; the construction of hospitals with 5000 beds, polyclinics with a capacity of 8900 visits a shift; trade, public catering, consumer service, and other facilities; and, in addition to this, 1.6 million m<sup>2</sup> of housing in rural areas.

In accordance with the conclusion of the Temporary Commission on Consolidated Seismic Zoning for Construction Purposes in Earthquake-Damaged Rayons and Cities of the Armenian SSR, the cities of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak are assigned a seismicity rating of nine points.

By the end of December, 200 specialists from the country's leading scientific research institutes will have taken part in a survey of the state housing fund in more than 29 cities and rayons centers in the destruction zone to ascertain the actual state, the extent of damage, to raze buildings, to take the necessary measures to strengthen structures, and to identify buildings fit for further exploitation. In all, up to 3000 buildings varying in intended use, number of stories, and design, including historical and cultural monuments will be surveyed.

In the 20 days that have elapsed since the natural disaster, work has been organized on correcting master plans and on identifying regions in which top priority should be given to the construction of housing, cultural and service facilities in proportion to the volume assigned to union republics, ispolkoms, and ministries.

With the methodological aid of the nation's central city planning institutes, Armenian republic institutes have devised master plans of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak and master plans are nearly complete for the rayon centers Artik, Akhuryan, Maralik, Gukasyan, Amasiya, Dilizhan, Alaverdi, and Gugark. Regions with the most propitious geological engineering, seismic, and soil conditions for top-priority construction have been identified for every city and rayon center.

In view of the fact that the timely and quality preparation of master plans of detailed planning and development of regions of top-priority construction will have an important role in liquidating the consequences of the natural disaster and in the realization of the volume of residential and public buildings, engineering and transport communications, specific efforts relating to the coordination of this effort have been examined. The composition of leaders and responsible performers for all types of work, including the production of designs of residential and public buildings to be built in 1989-1990, has been confirmed and the deadlines for preparing all designs have been set.

The Armgosproyekt Institute has been named the general planning organization for Kirovakan, Spitak and rayon centers; Yerevanproyekt has been designated as the general planning organization for Leninakan.

On 24 December, proposals on the long-range development of Leninakan and Kirovakan were examined at party-economic aktivs of these cities and were approved

In Leninakan, an area of 660 hectares in the northwestern part is viewed as the site of top-priority construction. A new residential region of the city with a population of more than 100,000 persons will be built here. Residents of this region will live in 2-4-story buildings and 1-story cottages. Residential buildings with a total area of 2 million m<sup>2</sup> will be built in the region as part of a complex that includes schools, preschool institutions, polyclinics, trade enterprises, public catering and consumer service enterprises, movie theaters, and other facilities. The buildings will be outfitted with all types of engineering equipment. The grounds of the residential and public buildings will be landscaped. During the same period, partly and totally destroyed enterprises will be restored to the extent that it provides employment for the able-bodied population; the city's existing housing fund will also be repaired and restored; and the area of the existing city will be cleared and rehabilitated. A bypass highway will be built. This will make it possible to route transit traffic outside the city.

Proposals have been made on the long-range development of the city as a large industrial and cultural center of the republic. It is planned to increase the city's population to 250,000-280,000 persons, to build consumer service enterprises, municipal, and housing and civil structures. The volume of housing construction in the city will ensure the resolution of the housing program and will give every family a separate apartment or an individual house. Construction after the year 1990 will be carried out within the existing city limits and will concentrate on the restoration of destroyed residential regions. The historical environment of the city will be restored to the maximum, including the historical center of Kumayri. Architectural continuity will be maintained. There will be compositional unity of restored and new city planning ensembles and landscaping systems. Cultural and consumer service facilities will be totally

restored or built from the ground up. Public transit will be developed in the city. The capacity of household-potable water lines and sewage treatment facilities will be expanded.

In Kirovakan, housing construction in 1989-1990 is planned in the volume of 0.9 million m<sup>2</sup>; the plan calls for 2-4-story buildings and one-story cottages in the rayons of Taron and Darpas and in the settlement of Gugark and for the repair and restoration of the existing housing fund. Preschool institutions, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, and the necessary service institutions will be built in residential regions. As in Leninakan, national traditions will be used in construction with due regard to the region's natural and climatic features.

Considering the complexity of the sanitation situation in Kirovakan, in the process of restoring partially or totally destroyed chemical industry enterprises, it is recommended that these enterprises be respecialized. Other enterprises will be restored with due regard to the introduction of resource- and labor-saving technologies.

In the future, the city will retain its leading national economic functions as a cultural, industrial, and recreational center. The construction of the city will essentially be inside its existing limits and its planning structure *planirovochnaya struktura* will be restored and improved. By the year 2000, every family should have a separate apartment or individual house and the population should be provided with service institutions and all types of engineering equipment.

The execution of a complex of nature protection measures to protect the soil, air and water against pollution by industrial, municipal, and warehouse enterprises and transport and the creation of enterprise sanitary protection zones will make it possible to improve the sanitation situation in the city considerably.

The improvement of transport service in the city's regions, the creation of convenient transport ties between residential and industrial regions, and the execution of measures relating to the engineering preparation of territory, including the construction of structures for controlling mud flow, will become an important problem in the master plan.

In Spitak, sites totally destroyed by the earthquake have been selected for new construction and restoration. These sites are situated along the Yerevan-Spitak highway to the southwest of the destroyed city. The site chosen for the city is most propitious in its seismic, geological engineering, and city planning conditions. The housing construction sites are located on the southern slopes of the mountains. They have good insolation and favorable microclimatic conditions.

The new city will consist of dwellings of 3 stories or less and 1-2-story houses with private plots and cottages in a complex with full sociocultural services and engineering equipment.

The planning structure presupposes a harmonious relationship between the regions of new construction and the existing city where it is planned to restore part of the individual housing and to create a memorial, park zone.

In the future, it will be possible to settle a population of 20,000-25,000 persons in the new construction sites in the city. The final perspectives of development of the city—the size of its population and the volume of housing construction—will be refined after microseismic zoning, geological engineering surveys, and additional city planning research.

The restoration of industrial enterprises is planned at new sites outside the destroyed part of the city in a volume sufficient to provide employment for the able-bodied population.

The proposal to develop Spitak is scheduled to be examined by the city's party-economic aktiv.

The construction of a bypass highway (Yerevan-Kirovakan), an overpass across the Pambak River, and the Yerevan-Moscow main rail line is planned.

In 1990, the drafting of all master plans of cities, rayon centers, and rural population centers in the zone of destruction will be completed with due regard to the basic provisions of plans for the development and location of the productive forces and settlement in the Armenian SSR.

At the present time, the "Basic Principles of Correction of the General Plan and Location of Regions of Top-Priority Construction" of the cities of Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak have now been prepared for submission to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers for approval. These documents are extremely important for work relating to the specific design and construction of top-priority regions.

In the interests of developing the ideas of the architectural-structural territories of residential regions and spatial organization of the habitat with regard to historical and cultural traditions, local natural and climatic conditions, and the most comfortable living conditions for the population, a contest has been announced for the planning and construction of top-priority projects in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak. The most interesting ideas have found embodiment in the specific construction and restoration of the cities.

Work on the restoration of villages damaged by the earthquake is carried out by an interdepartmental commission created by USSR Gosagroprom on the planning of Armenian rural population centers that have been



damaged by the earthquake. The work of the commission is carried out jointly with representatives of Soviet organs and interested ministries and departments.

USSR Gosagroprom has assigned population centers damaged by the earthquake to the agroproms of union republics and oblasts and has assigned them a complex of restoration work. The Armgiproselkhoz Institute of Armenian SSR Gosagroprom is coordinating the work of all planning institutes participating in the planning effort.

The Armgiproselkhoz Institute has made a preliminary estimate of the technical state of damaged buildings and structures. The population left to work in agricultural production and to participate in restoration work is being determined.

Village restoration work is being conducted in earthquake-damaged Amasiyskiy, Aniyskiy, Aparanskiy, Aragatskiy, Artikskiy, Akhuryanskiy, Gugarkskiy, Gukasyanskiy, Idzhevanskiy, Kalininskiy, Noyemberyanskiy, Stepanovskiy, Talinskiy, Tumanyanskiy, and Shamshandinskiy rayons. Armenian SSR Gosstroy is monitoring the coordination of the development of planning documentation for rural population centers.

In the process of formulating the master plans of cities and draft plans for the development of rural population centers, locations of the construction base—mobile and standard building designed for temporary habitation—are determined.

In order to perform planning work, it is necessary to carry out a complex of detailed microseismic zoning studies and geological engineering surveys using the most sophisticated techniques for investigating territory, for detecting microfaults, fissures, and other geological and hydrogeological features on sites for future urban and rural construction in order to appreciate the seismic situation to the greatest possible degree.

Materials of engineering-technical studies of buildings damaged by the earthquake will be analyzed and considered most thoroughly in the planning process and new approaches to the design and construction of earthquakeproof dwellings and public buildings in highly seismic regions will be developed.

#### **AzSSR Council of Ministers Officials on Accommodating Refugees from ArSSR**

18000298a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
7 Dec 88 p 2

[Azerinform briefing: "Give All Possible Assistance"]

[Text]Thousands of families are leaving their homes these days, not by their own choice but because of an outside force that is openly hostile to the cause of restructuring. This word "refugee" has a strange and incomprehensible sound in our time. But facts are facts:

people are leaving their homes and everything they have built by hard labor and are forced to ask help from their countrymen. The party, soviet, economic, and public organizations of Azerbaijan now face the difficult challenge of supplying them, locating them, and finding them jobs.

These matters were the subject of a regular briefing at Azerinform [Azerbaijani Information Agency], with participation by representatives of the republic refugee commission, the military command, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Gaygy and Red Crescent Societies, the Azerbaijan SSR Department of USSR Zhilsotsbank, and the mass information media. The following persons spoke to the assembled journalists.

**F. M. Yakubov**, head of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Department of Soviet Organi:

"As of today more than 100,000 refugees, constituting more than 23,000 families, have arrived in Azerbaijan. Some of them have exchanged apartments, acquired private homes and lots of land, and registered with relatives. But more than half of them, 76,000, have not been settled at the present time and are located in 44 cities and rayons of the republic. Most of them are in the Nakhichevan ASSR, Baku, and Kirovabad. Azerbaijani families are frequently forced to leave Armenia with great difficulty, sometimes making their way on foot through snowy passes.

"All of the rayons and cities of the republic to which refugees are arriving have organized commissions for work with refugees and set up regional headquarters which are headed by executives of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party and republic Council of Ministers. There are points for distribution and assignment to places of residence. Everything possible is also being done to ensure precise organization of the emigration of persons of Armenian nationality. At present about 20,000 families of them have left. Each day about 20 flights are made on the air route from Baku to Yerevan, and about 100 aircraft from many aircraft enterprises of the country have been enlisted for this traffic.

"Additional capital from the state budget has been appropriated to assist the refugees and the USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Central Committee of the All-Union Komsomol have adopted an important decree on steps to assist children of the Azerbaijani SSR and the Armenian SSR, which shows great concern for the younger generation of both republics. Enterprises and institutions of the republic and inhabitants of all its rayons are giving the refugees all possible help. The initiative of the industrial enterprises of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, which decided to build 35-40 buildings for them in Yalam, deserves our approval."

**Major General B. L. Aleksandrov**, deputy military commandant for political work of the special Baku region:

"I want to emphasize that the problem of refugees proved very critical because the safety of inhabitants of both Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality was not ensured in their local areas. The difficulty is that, influenced by nationalistic fervor and the extremist attitudes in Armenia, there were rayon-level leaders who pushed for inhabitants of the other nationality to abandon their places of permanent residence. Unfortunately, such things also took place in Azerbaijan.

"We have taken steps to coordinate the actions of the military provosts of Baku and Yerevan to ensure the safety of the colonies of migrants and protection of the places of residence of citizens of Azerbaijani nationality in Armenia. Up to 100 subunits in which some 20,000 military servicemen operate have been put to work on this. The routes along which columns of persons of Azerbaijani nationality are moving have been taken under protection because there have been cases of attacks on the columns and gunfire against them. A great deal has been done to find missing citizens and identify disorders. A great deal was done and is being done to stabilize the situation in both republics. All efforts are directed to ensuring observation of the constitutional rights and personal safety of citizens.

"There is something else that cannot be ignored. In the wave of migration there are, among those people who have truly been deprived of their hearth and home, certain shady persons who are taking advantage of the people's misfortune and using it for their own selfish ends. They are sowing turmoil and organizing disorder both in Baku and in Yerevan."

**Major General Militzia K. A. Mamedov**, deputy Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Internal Affairs:

"Internal affairs organs together with military units have now organized escorts for columns of refugees leaving the Armenian SSR. It should be noted that in a number of cases where there was no such protection attacks on them took place, as well as freezing and even human death during crossings of difficult mountain sectors.

"Along with other republic organizations internal affairs organs are working on the complex problems of delivering groups of migrants, locating them, and providing them with all essentials. It should be said that our ministry has given free material aid worth 200,000 rubles, 61,000 rubles of which was allocations for food products.

"Another important job of the militia is to help persons of Armenian nationality who want to leave Azerbaijan. Rigorous observance of measures for the safety for all inhabitants is being organized jointly with the military

authorities. The Minister of Internal Affairs is fighting against rumors and gossip and against those who intensively spread them, who do not want interethnic strife to end."

**P. A. Kasumov**, Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Health:

"The public health organs of the republic's cities and rayons have organized headquarters for operational handling of questions related to medical care for the refugees. Around-the-clock service by doctors and managers of structural subdivisions has been established. Groups of specialists have been sent to the cities and rayons of the republic where refugees are moving to give practical help to local health organs. Medical posts have been set up at key railroad stations. Additional drugs, bandages, blood, and blood substitutes have been allocated to all treatment-preventive institutions.

"Operational communications have been set up with organs and institutions in the republic's cities and rayons. Where necessary specialists are sent from clinics in the city of Baku to the local areas by medical aviation and persons in need are evacuated to specialized treatment-preventive institutions.

"According to available data 869 persons have come to treatment-preventive institutions of the republic. Of them 716 received outpatient care while 153 were hospitalized and are receiving appropriate medical care. Their condition at the present time is satisfactory. I particularly want to emphasize that no one was killed during liberation of the area, and 14 persons received minor injuries."

**I. D. Mustafayev**, chairman of the Gaygy Society and academician of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences:

"The events in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast should be examined with all possible reliability to determine those truly to blame for what happened. Therefore, we should already be carefully recording each event and each fact, and not in a one-sided way but with proper objectivity. This is important so that later it will not be possible, as is already happening, to look for advantages from the people's misfortune.

"Our Gaygy Society was founded for the purpose of giving our people all possible help in solving cultural and socioeconomic problems. All contributions by working people of the republic which have been transferred to our funds are now going for this. And of course, there is no more important challenge for us today than to help the refugees from Armenia who, leaving all of their possessions to the whim of fate, have come to us seeking help. But if our help is going to be effective we must record the fate of each refugee and each family. This is also essential so that each person can find his place in life, endure these upheavals, and return to his customary labor. If he is a mountain man, he must be located in an appropriate

region of the republic. Incidentally, we need to think about using the sparsely populated lands of the ranges of the Greater Caucasus which have an acute need for labor resources. In this first and most difficult period the primary need is to provide refugees with food products, clothing, and medical care."

**Sh. D. Aleskerova**, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan SSR Red Crescent Society Central Committee:

"For a certain time the migration of people from the Armenian SSR did not have the attention of public opinion in the republic. At that time the first refugees already needed help, and our society began this work. We completely revised our accounts and directed practically all our available resources to work in this area. In view of the oncoming cold weather our society's activists are collecting warm clothing for the refugees and, to take advantage of this opportunity, I would request any possible help."

**A. G. Kasumov**, chairman of the Azerbaijani SSR Bank of USSR Zhilsotsbank:

"The desire of working people in our republic to give all possible help to the refugees and to make a contribution to housing these people is understandable. New funds have been set up for this purpose and money is being transferred into them. I would point out that more than 200,000 rubles have been received by the Yardym Fund, which was set up a few days ago. And it is very touching that the first transfers, in the amount of more than 100,000 rubles, were made by the Azerbaijani Society for the Blind and the similar society for deaf and dumb people, although they themselves need our concern. According to available information we are expecting significant receipts very soon. In our opinion, however, it would be advisable to consolidate all money being received in various accounts into a single fund in order to manage it more expediently."

Answers to questions by journalists were given at the briefing.

#### **AzSSR Academy of Science Members Censured for Role in NKAU Unrest**

18000298b Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
9 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] At the presidium of the republic Academy Sciences and a number of its subdivisions the question of the responsibility of executive and other scientific workers for failure to take effective steps to ensure normal activity by labor collectives and for the participation of certain associates in unsanctioned rallies and marches and other unlawful actions has been reviewed.

Strict reprimands were declared against doctors of philological sciences Ya. V. Karayev, director of the Institute of Literature imeni Nizami, D. Zh. V. Kagramanov, director of the Institute of Manuscripts, and A. A. Gadzhiev, director of the Museum of Azerbaijani Literature imeni Nizami for failure ensure high labor discipline and failure to take serious steps to prevent participation in unlawful rallies by a number of associates of the scientific research institutions they head. They were all warned that if labor discipline is not restored in their collectives very quickly, stricter measures will be taken with them.

A. K. Aliyev, a head scientific associate, and A. M. Farzaliyev, senior scientific associate, both of the Institute of Manuscripts, were released from their positions for protracted absences and participation in unsanctioned rallies. R. N. Aliyev, a senior scientific associate, and G. G. Gerischi, a junior scientific associate, both of Institute of Azerbaijani Literature, were released from their positions for flagrant violations of labor discipline and taking part in demonstrations while senior scientific associate Kh. R. Khalilov of that institute was given a strict reprimand for the same actions. He was warned that if this occurs again stricter measures will be taken with him.

M. F. Gatemi, senior scientific associate the the Museum of Azerbaijani Literature imeni Nizami, was released from his position for failure to follow the decision of a general meeting of the collective, flagrant violations of labor discipline, and active participation in unlawful rallies.

V. Dzh. Gadzhiev, director of the Institute of Botany and M. I. Rustamov, director of the Institute of Petrochemical Processes, both of whom are corresponding members of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, were given strict reprimands for failure to take essential steps to prevent participation by associates in unsanctioned rallies and demonstrations. They were warned that if similar things occur in the future in the collectives that they head stricter disciplinary measures will be taken with them.

The question of the incorrect actions of R. G. Rizayev, director of the Institute of Inorganic and Physical Chemistry and a corresponding member of the republic Academy of Sciences, will be reviewed immediately after he comes to work.

A. K. Kuliyeu and A. S. Safarov, scientific associates, as well as M. S. Guseynov and N. A. Valiyev, senior scientific associate, all of the Institute of Petrochemical Processes, were released from their positions for violation of the rules of martial law in the city of Baku and the 28 July 1988 Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet entitled "Procedures for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations" and the corresponding Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.



### Georgian School Teachers on Bilingualism, Other Problems

18130038 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 15 Nov 88 p 2

[KOMUNISTI interview with delegates to republic conference of workers in public education: "Schools on the Verge of Perestroika"]

[Text] After regional conferences were held, workers in our republic's public education assembled again yesterday, this time for their republic conference. The agenda again covered current problems of teaching and upbringing. They talked about the tasks of school restructuring in accordance with the draft provisions and concept of the general-education school system.

Our correspondent asked delegates to the conference to express their opinions as to how they view school restructuring and prospects for further improvement.

Meri Apkhazava, head of the Methodology Office in Tbilisi's Lenin Rayon Department of Education and Distinguished Teacher of Georgian Language and Literature in Secondary School No 48:

"School reform requires creativity and intensification of the methodology service. As a representative of that service, I see creativity as being multifaceted. After all, methodology work is virtually a scientific endeavor and must also be genuinely creative.

"School restructuring documents speak of replacing 'methodology offices with more flexible methodology services.' Many took that proposal to mean that the methodology service is to be abolished. They fail to consider that as long as the 'teacher' exists, the 'methodologist' will also exist, and it makes no difference what the methodology service is called—'methodology office,' 'advisor,' or something else. The way I interpret 'flexible methodology service' is that systematic professional cooperation is established between the methodologist and the young educator, a relationship which attains a scientific level as the teacher's age and experience increase.

"I am very happy about the "State Georgian Language Program" that has been worked out for the practical improvement of the constitutional status of the Georgian language. However, as a teacher of Georgian language and literature I have a number of comments:

"The following should be added to Chapter III: The Gruzija-Film Studio shall be involved in the creation of educational films in the Georgian language and the Georgianization of certain Russian program films.

"I think it is a methodological mistake to start teaching the Russian language to 6-year-old children in Georgian schools along with Georgian reading and writing (in Russian schools we teach the Georgian language from

the third grade). We should have Georgian children begin to learn Russian and a foreign language starting in the third and fourth grades, after they have thoroughly learned how to read, write, and think in Georgian. I also think it is wrong to have bilingual preschool institutions."

Emzar Gvinchidze, chief of the department of educational institutions of the Transcaucasian Railroad:

"Our system of public education has 22 secondary general-education schools, 70 preschool institutions, six vocational-technical schools, and two technicums. In addition, our department is in charge of the training and retraining of the railroad's worker cadres. The number of educational institutions doesn't seem like much, but when you consider that they are deployed over the territory of two republics (Georgia and Armenia) and that there are language differences, it creates complications for us. Our department does not have a large staff. It does have the same kind of tasks and prospects as the republic's public education system but, unfortunately, is isolated from it.

"The democratization of school life that has been instituted lately has also created some inconveniences. In my opinion, we should not give these rights to everyone out of hand; we need differentiation and more caution. As we know, administrators of educational institutions have been given the right to hire and dismiss teachers independently. In this case, decentralization gives rise to a breakdown in coordination. Administrators of educational institutions are handling this issue in a subjective and high-handed manner. I think that we should give the right to elect administrators only to a sound collective. Sometimes a collective will elect someone who makes fewer problems for them, someone they are used to, and as for the administrator's competence and essential abilities, these matters are left in the background.

"So far, methodological supervision of the schools is not up to the necessary standard. We get methodology directives from Moscow. The department does not have a translator, and that is something our department really needs.

"We have a lot of problems. We are eagerly awaiting the All-Union Teachers Congress, whose decisions should make drastic changes in the character of the work of Soviet schools and set forth the specific directions of the system's restructuring."

### Georgian Youth Activists Praised, Restraint Urged

18130035 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO  
in Georgian No 46, 11 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Robert Sturua: "Haste Makes Waste...."]

[Text] I was out of Tbilisi three months. The city that seemed carefree and irritatingly calm when I left was in an uproar when I came back. Exciting events were taking

place in various republics of our big country, and someplace in my heart I was even sad that we were not raising our voice about our own woes. As soon as I arrived, I got a flood of information from friends and acquaintances, neighbors, and even from complete strangers. The fact that people have been trying to "attack" Georgians with great charm and pleasure in the Central press and on television lately, was not news to me. One might even say, in fact, that it did not break my heart; in the long run, if someone doesn't like you, you can't force him to; however much you protest, you can't make him see your goodness. What bothered me most was how timid we looked in defending ourselves. I also thought that maybe they were doing it on purpose to make us lose our temper. And a person who loses his temper will often say and do a thousand dumb things. You might not agree with me; you may even scold me. But my position is this: If you can't give your attacker a worthy answer, it's best to keep mum and not be taken in by provocations.

Of the wealth of information they greeted me with in Tbilisi, the main thing to me was what the university students had undertaken. When you're discouraged and think that everything has sunk into drowsy apathy or has descended to the level of banquet patriotism, how wonderful it is to find, to your astonishment, that young people are growing up in the city where you live, right beside you, who are intellectual in spirit and genuine sons and daughters of their fatherland. They perceive the world in all its depth and breadth, they stand aloof from provincial thinking, and they see our little Georgia's woes through the prism of the world's problems.

These thoughts were in my head when, newly returned from abroad, I visited a Georgian in Moscow, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V. Gelovani, and we watched a video segment of the meeting between our republic's leaders and students of the university. That evening was the most unforgettable impression of my life. To be sure, there is much in the youth movement that may seem radical to us, a fact which is further heightened by rumors and tongue-wagging (such as that young people are demanding that persons of non-Georgian nationality be deported, non-Georgian schools are not necessary and ought to be closed, and so on). But I believe the nucleus of those young people, who spearheaded such a great effort, will not betray their human, humane position.

We are witness to unusual times. What bothered and tormented us for many years has today become the topic of open discussion. The worries which we didn't even reveal to ourselves and which we purposely cast out of our consciousness have come out into the open for all to see. So many woes have accumulated. The afflicted person won't even confess to himself that something troubles him, gnaws at him, but the day does come when he has to go to the doctor and listen to the latter's severe verdict. The "unshakeable union of free republics" turns out to be not so strong after all. Nations which for decades endured injustice and humiliation in silence

have rightly raised their voice. Russia itself has clearly sensed that the Russian people's spiritual treasure, culture, and economic and ideological spheres have faced the danger of extinction—to say nothing of the small nations which, we cannot deny it, have come up against the grave problem of biological extinction. If we contemplate these things wisely we will not be surprised by the unease which has gripped our country. In this regard you cannot blame either the big or the small nations; each has its own history, its own path. And like any other phenomenon, naturally, these events are also accompanied by deviations. Consider Pamyat in Russia, for example, and the Karabakh conflict in Transcaucasia. Also Logical is the fact that, by our government's decision, a special plenum is to be devoted to these issues.

From the very beginning, Georgia has been distinctive for its unbounded generosity toward the sons and daughters of other nations. I personally think that this is one of the Georgians' best qualities, although we often reap evil for good. But does a man do good because he expects to be paid? It is his nature. It is his character, established through the centuries. We know this, but our gorge rises when our nation is disparaged and certain individuals' crimes are ascribed to the whole nation. For this reason we keep getting into a stupid situation: We hotly defend the super-villains whose misdeeds we know best of all and whose evil we have suffered more than others.

By chance recently I saw a television feature about Georgia that was made by the Americans. Basically it was an interview with some of our young students. Speaking on the screen there were reasonable, truly intellectual young persons, genuine patriots of our country. They thought and spoke so freely on any topic that it made you envious. Then suddenly the American reporter asked the young people this question: Aren't you Georgians ashamed that Stalin was your countryman? I could sense how the suddenness of it made them catch their breath. During the pregnant pause that followed the question I searched in vain for an answer... But then one of them, a slim boy with glasses, answered in excellent English: No. Then he added: Are other nations ashamed for having given birth to no lesser tyrants? Evil has no nationality....

I do not know those young people. Like it or not, tomorrow's Georgia is theirs. Unfortunately—I may be wrong, but—wittingly or unwittingly our generation somehow squandered our ideals, morality, and conscience along the way... Although our generation also included persons who may have fought for what is right in more difficult circumstances. Many were sacrificed to the cause. Let us not forget that.

Today as well, our young people have taken up a magnificent cause. They care about their native country's past and future. God grant that their life will not be like ours and that they will confidently and wisely give wings to their fancy. I believe they will be able to do so—if they do not get hasty and carried away by youthful

impetuosity, if they remember that a mistake along their chosen path is fatal, for then everything must be started over. Remember: "Haste makes waste."

One thought keeps going through my mind. These young people have a lot of fellow-thinkers among the older generation as well, including many who have no thought for their country nor any high ideals. Having nothing to offer, the only thing that motivates them is the desire to show off in order to gain something in the future.

I'm not sure but I think it was in Ancient Greece that a ruler asked a philosopher, "Why is it that as soon as I take up some worthy project, all kinds of riffraff show up as well as brothers-in-arms?" The philosopher answered, "What can you do? When you build a house, before you can put the roof on, crickets are already chirping inside."

Consider also what the well-known American writer A. Bierce said in his "Devil's Dictionary": "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

Finally, hundreds of Georgian young people died tragically on 9 March 1956, while the "orators" who stood out on the speaker's stand in those days are doing fine.

**Letters: Usurped Georgian Monument; Ethnic Misunderstanding**

18130032 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Letters to the editor]

[Text] Despite the success of our struggle against the bureaucracy, we are still far from eradicating it totally. We will never get rid of it until each and every one of us banishes many human weaknesses from his own nature. In other words, until we acknowledge that the common national good is a virtue. This can only happen via enhancement of our national consciousness. This boundary must run across the individual conscience so that the motto "I Am My Homeland!" is indelibly etched in everyone's consciousness. Then and only then can we do away with the inertia of such scientific institutions as the Georgian Academy of Sciences or the Monument Protection Administration. Whoever lacks the ability to call his own his own, let him register it at least....

This refers to the Hudzhabi Monastery located in Marneuli Rayon. But those who are directly responsible for the care and protection of the monastery are silent, as if our country's trouble did not concern them. How long are we supposed to put up with their academic silence? [signed] Mikheil Gavasheli

A group of us on the staff of the Tbilzniep Institute are writing to you concerning the article you published in the 15 October edition of your newspaper, titled "The Monument Awaits Its Rightful Heir." We request that your newspaper offer a public discussion of the issue raised in that article.

Since our ancestors bequeathed to us the people's spiritual and material treasures despite their many adversities, doesn't our generation owe it to our posterity to carry out our own mission of honor? By ignoring such facts we will be committing a crime before our ancestors and our posterity.

The natural question arises, Where is the Monument Protection Administration? Why have we given up on monuments located on the territory of our neighboring republics? There is a law which assigns the ownership of a monument in such cases to whoever built it. It is astonishing how apathetically the republic's government looks upon high-handed territorial changes of this kind.

In our opinion, unilateral brotherhood is impossible. If we want genuine brotherhood and good neighborliness, let both sides do what truth and justice demand—return the monument to its rightful heirs! [signed by 15 members of the staff of Architectural Shop No 2 of Tbilzniep]

Events of the recent past have shown clearly that national relations in Soviet society as a whole are not on the high level that we had imagined. The main reason for this must be that the peoples of many nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union do not know each other very well. They do not know their brother nations' history, ancient and modern culture, art, customs, linguistic characteristics, and so on. This "ignorance" is rooted in our school program. I don't know if you agree with me or not, but it is a fact that the "History of the USSR" textbook basically presents the history of Russia, and contains practically nothing about other peoples.

A Soviet secondary school student gets to thinking: "If I'm obligated to know when and under what circumstances the Christian faith came to the Russian state, why shouldn't I know when and under what circumstances it came to Georgia and Armenia, or Islam to Central Asia, Buddhism to the Buryats, and so on?"

This textbook provides absolutely no information concerning the Chuvash, the Bashkirs, the Tatars, the Mari, the Tuvans, the Mordvins, the Moldavians, the Kazakhs, the peoples of the North Caucasus (except for the war with Shamil), the Siberians of the Far East, the peoples of the Far North, and many others. It says very little about the peoples of Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and other ancient nations.

It's no wonder, then, that a student who has gone through such a history course thinks that the nations listed above have "no history"; this is what creates the notion in people's mind (from childhood on) that nations are "not of equal worth."

I am convinced that until the events of Karabakh, few people outside the Caucasus even knew that this territory of the Azerbaijan republic is inhabited mainly by Armenians. Even today most people don't know how the Armenian population got there and how come it would



up within Azerbaijan. Most people outside of Georgia, probably, don't know (even the Azerbaijanis themselves) how one of Georgia's main districts, Char-Belakani or Heretia, came to be part of Azerbaijan. The "History of the USSR" is silent about what the "Georgievsk Treaty" called for and how well the Russian tsarist administration fulfilled its terms. We could cite numerous examples of this kind... I believe it is necessary to introduce a separate syllabus in the secondary schools (similarly in the VUZes) on a nationwide scale, whose basic textbook would be "Literature of the Peoples of the Soviet Union." All of this would nurture a feeling of respect and affection in Soviet citizens for their brother nations.

A young person brought up on the basis of such an education, of course, would be hard to convince that, for example, Georgians are the people who sell flowers in the markets of Moscow and Leningrad; rather, Georgians are a people who have traveled a very long journey of military feats, culture, and labor from time immemorial to our own day. Indeed, if journalist V. Tsvetov had known that the Georgians created a multinational state way back in the 11th century under the leadership of Davit the Builder, a state in which the people of all nations, whatever their linguistic and religious differences, enjoyed equal national rights, and that the Georgian people have always tried to base their state on internationalist principles, he would not have allowed himself to say that Georgians are "nationalists." [signed] Malkhaz Osiashvili, student, Pushkin Pedagogical Institute.

**Cotton Industry Beset by Bankruptcies**  
18200150b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
18 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by V. Rudakova, Syr-Darya Oblast: "Bankrupts"]

[Text] A wave of bankruptcies has swept across Syr-Darya Oblast in recent months. The matter has not yet reached the point of auctioning off of enterprise property, but the extension of credit to enterprises has been stopped. The Bayautskiy Cotton Cleaning Plant was declared the first insolvent plant. Then it was the turn of the Malekskiy Cotton Plant, the interkolkhoz mobile mechanized column-48, and the Asalchi Beekeeping Sovkhoz. Furthermore, the Ilichevsk Cotton Plant and a number of other enterprises are candidates for insolvent debtors.

This unusual phenomenon for the Hungry Steppe Region is the consequence of the working conditions of the oblast Agroprombank [Agro-Industrial Bank] which have changed sharply as of this year.

"Previously, a certain limit for crediting was allocated for the oblast and many lived in a carefree manner, drawing from the state pocket liberally," D. Uslyamova, the bank's deputy manager, says. "Overdue loans grew and this did not alarm anyone. Now we strictly depend

on the real sum of planned volumes of credits for enterprises, farms, and organizations of the agro-industrial complex. Money is not allocated for them on the expectation that overdue loans will be liquidated. Every ruble counts. We will not permit that they be squandered liberally, as before."

On the list of those that have already been or will be declared insolvent the "priority" is given to cotton cleaning enterprises. Out of 10 plants (we have in mind Syr-Darya Oblast within the old borders) only Bakht cotton cleaners work profitably. The following question arises: Why precisely have cotton plants fallen sick?

B. Khaydarov, director of the Malekskiy Plant, who was elected to the post at a general meeting of the labor collective not long ago, tries to keep calm:

"Although we are bankrupt, credit for the purchase of raw cotton was allocated to us. The most difficult thing was that we had to wage a war with deliverers, who transported raw cotton at night. Nevertheless, we accepted cotton with parameters of weediness higher than maximally permissible by the All-Union State Standard—12 to 13 percent with a norm of 10. Furthermore, the AN-Bayaut-2 variety lends itself to processing with difficulty owing to the very weak seed film. It easily tears away together with the fiber and no, even the most improved, equipment is able to give a high-quality fiber. Textile industry workers fine us for this."

Someone else's concerns... For the delivered cotton the plant immediately pays 90 percent of the cost to the farm. At the checkpoint raw cotton is weighed together with packaging materials, the weight of the cart is subtracted, and the necessary quantity is obtained. But it can be increased artificially by mixing it with earth, disguising it well (so that there is no high discount), and bringing it to the procurement point at night, when the vigilance of harassed laboratory workers and classifiers is dulled. And if the plant, nevertheless, manages to obtain an above-plan yield of fiber from the procured raw cotton, it gives back the remaining 10 percent with a makeweight to its partner: The deliverer receives four-fifths of the above-plan profit and the processor, the rest. However, in case there is no yield, the farm and the plant equally share financial responsibility.

Fortune, that is, the instruction, obviously is not on the side of the processing enterprise, nor are other local party and Soviet workers and RAPO representatives on its side. Many with whom I had occasion to talk at procurement centers and cotton plants, to the question as to whether the command and pressure from elsewhere also hold sway over them today, confirmed, some evasively and some openly: Yes.

It is difficult for the acceptance clerk to hold his ground under such conditions. At the Donaryk Procurement Center on the Mirzachul Sovkhoz in Yangiyskiy

Rayon the attempt by commodity expert D. Mukhitdinov to turn back a cart with a weediness of 19.9 percent, which exceeded the maximally permissible weediness twofold, produced an outburst of indignation on the part of the management.

The fiber shipped as high-grade (in accordance with the accepted raw materials) is mercilessly converted into lower-grade fiber at textile enterprises. Textile industry workers have the right to fine suppliers and they use it in order not to have losses. The cotton plant does not have such a right. It cannot independently convert the accepted raw materials into lower grades. Nor does it have the right to fine farms for rejects—this has also not been given to it.

I will present the results of economic activity of the Malekskiy Cotton Plant in the processing of the 1987 harvest as a demonstration. Losses from the reduction in fiber gradings totaled 497,000 rubles and owing to the lack of fiber yield, 598,000. A total of 504,000 rubles were lost owing to the low quality of seeds and 168,000 rubles, owing to the fact that their efficiency was not ensured. The overexpenditure of raw cotton totaled 1,485 tons. All this made the enterprise bankrupt.

The time has come to uncover the mechanism of incurring losses. Let us take the following apportionment as an example. The production of 1 ton of first-grade An-Bayaut-2 cotton (with due regard for the cost of raw materials paid to the plant) costs 2,140 rubles. However, the factory, transferring it to the second grade according to the sum of expenses (a direct consequence of the high weediness), pays only 1,970 rubles. A total of 170 rubles represent a direct loss per ton alone. The 500,000 rubles of losses owing to the transfer of fiber to low grades and the same amount owing to transfers of seeds obtained by Malekskiy plant workers from their work are the direct results of the rightless and dependent situation of cotton plants, which proved to be the most vulnerable and unprotected link in the established system of economic interrelations. Furthermore, the lack [sic] of yield of fiber—the reverse of the same phenomenon—of increased weediness and moisture. Although the 1984 instruction "On the Procedure and Conditions of Settlement With Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes Forming Part of Agro-Industrial Associations for the Production and Processing of Raw Cotton" stipulates the point that both parties bear responsibility for the final result, in practice it remains a high-sounding, but useless, phrase. The Malekskiy Sovkhoz, the Leningrad Kolkhoz, and the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Syrdarinskiy Rayon, which deliver raw materials to the Malekskiy Cotton Plant, in contrast to the bankrupt, come out with profits of millions of rubles annually.

Cotton plants are seriously sick and this is evident from the high personnel turnover—20 percent annually. People reluctantly go to the harmful and low-paid production. The average wages of highest-category fitters at the Gulistan Cotton Plant do not exceed 120 rubles. Even

thought has ceased to be given to bonuses here. Major repairs are now carried out with the help of experts brought from other plants in the republic. The lack of profits affects the formation of internal economic funds. As a rule, they are scanty and bring no improvement in people's moods.

At the Bayautskiy Cotton Cleaning Plant (also a bankrupt) the last apartment was received 15 years ago. However, the following is the most impressive figure: At 10 cotton plants in 10 years 40 directors were replaced.

The bankruptcy and difficult financial position of cotton plants is the consequence of unhealthy economic conditions. The serious ailment is not an accident. It is time to begin its cure.

#### **TuSSR: Open Letter Pleads for Better Leaders in Tashauz Oblast Goskompriroda**

18300270a Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA  
in Russian 10 Dec 88 p 2

[Open letter from V. Chernov and others under the "Alarm Signal" rubric: "Who Will Save the Disaster Zone?"]

[Text] An Open Letter to Comrade T. Chorekliyev, chairman of the Turkmen SSR State Committee on Environmental Protection; Comrade O. Khodzhaev, Tashauz Obkom party first secretary, Cpt; and to Comrade V.V. Rashidov, Oblispolkom chairman:

Early this year the union and republic governments adopted decrees, "On Fundamental Restructuring of Environmental Protection in the Country." Aside from other important measures, these documents stipulated the creation of a State Committee on Environmental Protection, which is to consolidate the various environmental protection organizations and bring their activity to a qualitatively new level. This decree and the organization of the State Committee was eagerly awaited by everyone who is in any way associated with environmental protection, and everyone who is not indifferent to its condition. We had hoped that in this manner many acute problems in protecting the environment would be solved. However, time is passing and there are increasing doubts that our hopes will be vindicated.

For us, the associates of the Kaplankyrskiy preserve, the organization of the State Committee was long overdue. Two years ago, when there was first talk about its creation, we made preparations for extensive debate on the draft, and gave careful thought to proposals with respect to the structure of the oblast committee. However, the draft was not published, and no discussions took place. We were forced to take the initiative, and we ourselves sent proposals to various organizations. But we don't know whether our notes played any role at all, or whether they were ignored.

The decree itself was rather unexpected; however, in spite of the atmosphere of secrecy in which it was prepared, it was well-thought-out. For as it remained only to join in its execution—the *moreso*, since in accordance with this decree, our preserve became a part of the republic State Committee on Environmental Protection. But it was precisely here that we encountered the problems which forced us to write this letter.

We understood that the difficulties which the future oblast committee would experience during its organizational period and, of course, in its work, could not only not be enumerated—they could not even be fully imagined. But one problem which has now come to the forefront casts doubts on the competence of the forthcoming committee: namely, the cadre question. The decree and the speeches of the F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Environmental Protection, made it clear that the people assigned to the committee should be competent and devoted to their cause. Finding such people is a very, very difficult task; but it is vitally important to do so.

But how will this problem be solved in Tashauz Oblast? We do not ask this question out of idle curiosity. Thus far there has been no word of *glasnost* or democracy in the selection of cadres. For several months the question of the chairmanship of the oblast committee has hung in mid-air. In such a situation it would be altogether natural to name to this post some compromised administrator, as has happened in many organizations, and which the 19th Oblast Party Conference referred to. The practice of transplanting people from one administrative position to another has, unfortunately, not yet died out.

We know very well how easily incompetent people fall into supervisory positions, from the experience of our preserve and others. In order that this does not happen, it is urgently necessary to declare an open contest for the post of chairman, and to invite as many candidatures as possible. Give them the opportunity to publicize their programs and organize discussions on them: and only after this should elections be held for a special commission, on which there absolutely must be specialists on environmental protection.

People must be chosen for all responsible positions on the committee and its subelements in this very same way. And the elections must be truly democratic—and not like those which took place at the Kaplankyrskiy Preserve early this year, when the ministry, on election day, laid down an ultimatum and demanded that one of the candidates be assigned the post of director. As a result, elections have not been held to this day.

Of course, we will not be able to restructure our entire lives right away. In any new cause certain shortfalls and mistakes are inevitable. But environmental protection is not an area in which we can allow ourselves gross miscalculations. For too long it has been at the tail end of scientific-technical progress. We have declared to the

entire world that the Aral Littoral is an ecological disaster zone. Tashauz Oblast is one of the worst oblasts in the country in the ecological respect. This situation must be corrected by all the people—but the State Committee on Environmental Protection must take the lead. And a great deal will depend on the person who becomes its leader.

*[Signed] V. Chernov, S. Antipov, V. Shubenkin, Ye. Svinarchuk, Ye. Shubenkina, Ye. Zatoka, G. Antipova, I. Bogdanov, A. Migalkina, and Ye. Chernova, fellow-workers at the Kaplankyrskiy Nature Preserve.*

### Readers Complain About Quality of Local Ecological Service Leaders

18300270b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
12 Jan 89 p 3

[Letter from S. Bolobolov (SELSKAYA GAZETA, Minsk, 4 January): "And Who Will Serve the Ecology?"]

[Text] As is well-known, the government has decided that an ecological service is to be set up in every rayon. But from the very first days of staffing it one can see that they are choosing the type of people whom the service itself would consider incompetent.

In the past, the post of environmental protection inspector had usually been held by a pensioner in our rayon. But whom do they assign today? The Dobrushsky Rayon Ispolkom has named a primary-grades school teacher as supervisor of the Ecological Service, and his deputy is a retired militia lieutenant colonel. What sort of advice could they give to an agricultural specialist or to directors of industrial enterprises?

Why are geologists, teachers or militia officials not assigned to supervise medical-epidemiological stations? And so, can just anyone manage the environment?

### Kazakh Ecological Movement Fears Bureaucratic Obstruction

18300270c Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by PRAVDA Correspondent in Alma-Ata T. Yesilbayev, under the Ecological Journal rubric: "Save the Aral"]

[Text] Perestroika and *glasnost* have lifted the veil of silence surrounding the fate of the Aral Sea. Today increasingly loud and confident voices are being raised in its defense. An international movement, "The 20th Century, the World and the Ecology," was established in Alma-Ata. Mukhtar Shakhonov, president of the new movement, describes the tasks of this social organization and the current ecological situation in the Aral region:

"One of our main goals is to save the Aral Sea. Of course it will take years, even decades, to restore the damages inflicted on the environment. But for this, decisive actions are needed. It is high time to put a stop to the



growth of thoughtless demands and the squandering of our common wealth. Here, in the Aral Littoral, enormous sums have been spent for construction of amelioration and water management facilities, and for introduction of irrigation systems. But, owing to the low quality of the work carried out, they have led to massive salinization and drying-up of the land. As a result, not only has the water the Aral Sea so badly needs disappeared into the sand, but also the promises of certain scientists and economic administrators to turn the region into a blooming oasis.

Research by Kazakh scientists indicates that every year nearly 65 million tons of toxic, finely-dispersed salts are released into the atmosphere every year, from the surface of the saline soils which occupy the vast area of the dried-up bed of the Aral Sea. Spreading to the West, they form salt-laden dust clouds, the dispersion range of which is unlimited. Thus it is not surprising that a twofold increase in the salt level in rain water has been noted in recent years, not only around Tashkent, but also in Belorussia and Lithuania. In the immediate vicinity of the Aral, the increase is sevenfold! The salt-laden dust clouds are also having a ruinous effect on the glaciers in the Pamir, Tyan-Shan and Altay Mountains.

The waters of the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya Rivers have become almost unsafe for consumption; agents of various illnesses have been traced to them. In Kzyl-Orda Oblast alone, over the last 15 years 65,000 people have fallen ill to viral hepatitis, and 70,000 have suffered severe intestinal illnesses.

With the publication of the government's decree on the Aral, there is hope that the situation will take a turn for the better. But here is what alarms us: that, as has happened so often in the past, the bureaucratic apparatus will hinder the realization of the measures envisaged in the decree.

#### **Karelskaya ASSR Interest in Reviving Finnish Language, Culture**

18000467 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
24 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by V. Potiyevskiy under the "A Man and His Work" rubric: "The Sower"]

[Text] The deep, nocturnal silence was broken by the sobs of the wind as it struck the window. The ice-covered glass panes shuddered from its bursts. Ortye sat at his desk, which was illuminated by the bright light of his desk-lamp, and listened to the midnight storm. He had written nothing that day. He carefully listened to the solitary, old fir tree scraping against the house. Gathering in intensity, the wind tried to break the tree, or at least to make it bow down, but the tree merely nodded resiliently and scraped against the house

Ortye Stepanov was alone in the house. The night had become dark and freezing. The house on the edge of the village shone a solitary, bright window above the bank of the Upper Kuyto River. The wind caught up the snowflakes illuminated by the light and carried them off to the lake. It raged over the lake's endless, frozen expanse, twisting with its ground winds like long, white swaddling-clothes.

Suddenly the door scraped in the entrance-way. Or was it, perhaps, the old fir tree scraping. From time immemorial the doors here had been unbolts. A man was standing in the doorway.

"Come on in," said Ortye. "Sit down."

The guest took off his coat, walked into the room, and took a seat.

"I want to warn you about something." This was one of Stepanov's old acquaintances; his name was Leonid Kirov. They had once worked together for a long time in the workers' supply division of a timber-farm management institution. This man was quite well known as an intelligence agent; during the war he had been a radio-operator for the underground.

"The thing is, Ortye," Leonid said softly, "the state-security organs have assigned us, me and somebody else, to expose you. Kirov became silent for a moment. "Be careful, Ortye, with your nationalistic views. Otherwise, things will go badly...."

"Dear Kliment Yefremovich, as a Soviet person and a communist, I appeal to you to explain to me certain matters regarding national culture and nationality policy as a whole in the Karelo-Finnish SSR.... I do not understand why things are happening this way. We must develop a culture which is national in form and socialist in content, but what is actually happening is that the national language is being taken away from the national form...."

That was a letter from Stepanov to Voroshilov. Ortye demonstrated the need for the Karelians and Finns to have instruction in their native language; it had been abolished in the schools in 1955. It is specifically for this reason that Karelia's national literature is experiencing difficulty nowadays: there is no or almost no younger generation of national writers.

...Ortye was born and raised in a Karelian peasant family. Since childhood his soul had been attached to the rural life, to the rocky and miserly northern farmland which yielded the reward of a harvest only in exchange for hard labor.

By working in his native Kalevskiy Rayon, after communing with his fellow farmers for many long years, he had gained a good knowledge of their character, their

customs, and tendencies. It was likewise there that the heroes of his novels were born. Stepanov created the literary epic entitled "The Kinsmen"—a series of novels about Karelian rural life.

In devoting all his efforts to a thorough study, profound understanding, and description of peasant life, Stepanov deeply experienced all those unpleasant things which fell on the heads of these northerners. First, the abolition of their native language in the schools, and then various other things—thoughtless and soulless things. And he has struggled as much as possible. He has written books. But he has still written letters to high levels of authority. To the very highest. He has been rebuked, demeaned, proclaimed a parasite, and been punished. But he has not given up.

"Esteemed Nikita Sergeyevich, you began a campaign for growing corn. Moreover, this was a link in creating a fodder base; having attained this, you could solve the problem of developing livestock raising in the country's central and southern regions. But, for example, in our Kalevalskiy Rayon of the Karelian ASSR almost 10 percent of the arable lands were planted with corn at the insistence of the higher authorities. However, not a kilogram of fodder has been obtained. The situation was analogous with regard to sugar beets in 1962. Let's say: a matter of stupid bungling. And that's the truth.

"Another example, and this one should be more familiar to you. Agricultural-production equipment was sold to kolkhozes, but no repair centers were established in connection with this. It was said that the RTS's [repair and maintenance sections] would perform such repairs. During 1960 I was in your native area of Kalinovka and witnessed the following incident. A combine had gone out of order and was no longer in operation. Some bolt or other had flown off. Viktor Chertov, the tractor-brigade leader, insisted that the combine had to be taken to the RTS in Khomutovka, since the kolkhoz lacked the facilities to fix even such a trifling thing as this one. It's a good thing that Khomutovka is not far away, and within 24 hours the problem was fixed. But it could have been fixed within 2 hours if the kolkhoz had had workshops.

"That's because you once said that repairs would be done by the RTS. And, of course, that would be ideal; but, in fact, your authoritative words in this case were detrimental...."

Every line was written in deep pain for the villages and settlements which were being ruined and dying. Stepanov's native village—Khaykola—like all northern land resources, has not been endowed with rich, dark soils. Here are clays, loams, sands, and stones. Furthermore, even more onerous factors—thought up by someone, somewhere—have been added to these natural difficulties. It took a considerable amount of courage to write about all this painful matter to the state's top person.

Stepanov well understood what he was risking. He wrote to Voroshilov, Khrushchev, and to Brezhnev as well. As a result, the obkom banned the publication at that time of Stepanov's works in the journal PUNALIPPU, which is published in Petrozavodsk in Finnish. And Stepanov, a Finnish-language, Soviet writer, was deprived of his sole possibility for reaching his readers in their native language.

"One's own land is like a wild strawberry, but being in a strange land is like being in a stone vault," says Mariya, one of the heroines in Stepanov's novel "A Widow's Lot." This theme of attachment to one's own land is developed in his novels into a profound peasant patriotism. When a person does not spare his life for the sake of his native land because the land is part and parcel of himself. He knows it by touch—in autumn and spring. And in a strange land he even dreams of the intoxicating smells of his own field. Land dies from temporary inhabitants; it needs its own natives, its own sons.

It is this kind of inalienable love which Ortye Stepanov bears for his land. He is a writer and a man of labor. But it is an extremely unusual kind of labor. For many long years, parallel with his creative, literary work, he has been engaged in an intense struggle against bureaucrats, against officials who thoughtlessly, for the sake of "the plan," destroy a village and its peasant traditions, who disfigure the land and exhaust it.

As long ago as 1982 Stepanov directed an appeal to the obkom's first secretary and, in direct, often blunt terms, set forth the essence of the matter. Stepanov said that a waiting-room and 12 duplex-apartmeny houses had been built at the Kishozero Railroad Siding. But nobody was living nor would live at this settlement. Why had the settlement been built? The following answer came back: "It was provided for by the plan."

And how many extraordinary events have occurred due to the lack of an elementary procedure! A new cattle-yard for 100 head of cattle was built in the village of Yushkozero. Scarcely had this facility been put into operation when it burned down. Some 2,700 tons of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit were shipped to Kostomuksha, but 900 tons of them were sent to the dump. And Stepanov wishes to see to it that specific measures are adopted with regard to specific instances. He visited the obkom several times. He explained, demonstrated, and argued convincingly. But matters moved forward, if they moved at all, very, very slowly.

To put it more briefly, Stepanov had begun his struggle for renewal long before April 1985. He had begun it in isolation, casting his own well-being, peace of mind, health, and reputation into the sacrificial fire. A former commander of a frontline reconnaissance section, he became an intelligence agent for perestroika.

Stepanov is a winner of the Karelian ASSR State Prize. He was awarded this prize, so to speak, the third time around. Still, this was a victory.

"Are there any tangible results of your struggle to preserve and revive the national culture?" I asked the writer.

"Alas," he replied with a bitter smile, "there are hardly any results. Very little has been accomplished. A decree aimed at improving Finnish-language teaching at general-educational schools, PTU's [vocational-technical schools], and pedagogical colleges was adopted by the CPSU Karelian Obkom Buro and the republic's Council of Ministers. Provisions have also been made to organize kindergartens with an inclination to use the national language. Some 5,000 children and teen-agers are now studying Finnish. However, it's too early to rejoice. The level of instruction is, unfortunately, very low. The weakness of the teaching staffs is having an effect."

"And what has been done to revive the village in Kalevaskiy Rayon?" I inquired.

"For six years now they have been trying to adopt a decree on the socioeconomic development of our rayon, but up to now it has not been adopted. People are leaving this rayon. Housing conditions here can be compared, really, only with slums. The rayon-level hospital, for example, is housed in a former school which was built during the 1920's. And it is in an accident-prone condition. Some 57 villages and settlements in the rayon have ceased to exist. But, you know, this rayon is, in a specific sense, the cradle of northern culture. It was right here that the great Karelo-Finnish epic entitled 'The Kalevala' was written."

"If someone were to tell you that you could have your one, most cherished wish, what would you wish for?"

"What would I wish for...? That ears of rye, which was grown here even before the start of the 19th century, would again be formed in the fields of my Karelia. Rye used to be exported from here to Sweden. I sometimes dream of fields of such rye. They billow in the wind and smell of the northern sun.... But nowadays there are only abandoned wastelands and villages abandoned by people.... The land cannot live without love."

**Fate of Ethnic Germans, Emigration Detailed**  
18300262 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 28 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by A. Lapin, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, and A. Frank, FREUNDSCHAFT correspondent: "Russian Germans"]

[Text] The conversation was sticky. The woman we talked to looked at us in a guarded manner. Last year she had to begin life anew twice. Once, when she left with her

family for the FRG. The second time, when she returned to the Union. The elderly, tired woman received us in the small crowded kitchen of a two-room apartment in Alma-Ata.

"It is difficult for me to talk about this," she said after a long pause, "but the departure for the FRG was the biggest mistake of my life."

"What prompted you to depart?" we asked Emma Gerdt (her name and family were changed at her request).

"The same as everyone. Our relatives in the FRG invited us to come. They told us how well they lived. And we decided..."

Reunification of families. The desire to live better, to be among one's own people, and to feel German. Here are the main reasons for the departure, which were mentioned by almost everyone with whom we talked at the doors of visa and registration departments. There are also other explanations.

"I believe that not only emotions and financial considerations push Soviet Germans toward such a difficult step," K. V. Erlikh, editor-in-chief of the Kazakhstan Republic newspaper FREUNDSCHAFT, believes. "A departure—and it is time to talk openly about this—can also be a distinctive form of protest. After all, Soviet Germans have been losing their language, culture, and customs for many years."

Russia and Germany have had ties for more than one century. In the relations between our countries there were also harsh and at times tragic chapters. The memory of two world wars is alive. However, there were also other times. As long ago as under Peter the Great Germans from Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and Switzerland diligently served in the Russian Army, in the fleet, and on boards, built factories and plants, and reached high positions. Having adapted and become Russified, many Germans left an unforgettable mark on Russian culture and history. Among them there were poets, writers, artists, navigators, and revolutionaries. D. Fonvizin, A. Fet, K. Bryullov, I. Kruzenshtern, F. Belinskii, F. Litke, B. Yakobi, P. Shmidt, O. Shmidt, and N. Bauman became the pride of the homeland.

German colonists played an important role in the country's economy. As long ago as the end of the 18th century in accordance with the decree by Catherine II peasants, craftsmen, and merchants from Pfalz, Hessen, and Wurttemberg were invited to vacant land in the country.

The valley of the legendary "Avrora" changed the way of life of various nations, including German colonists. Revolts swept across colonies as a powerful wave. Workers and poor peasants in the Volga area took power into



their hands as early as November 1917. They sent delegates to Moscow to request the formation of a German autonomous oblast.

In accordance with the decree by the Council of People's Commissars a commissariat for the affairs of Germans in the Volga area was established in June 1918. In October of the same year V. I. Lenin, for the purpose of strengthening the fight for the social liberation of German workers and poor peasants, signed the decree on the formation of the autonomous oblast.

German colonists actively fought for the establishment of the Soviet regime. The 1st Yekaterinenshtadt Communist German Regiment fought against Germany's occupation in the Ukraine. The 2d Baltserovskiy German Regiment fought against Vrangeli and Denikin. The 2d German Cavalry Regiment fought in Budenny's First Cavalry Army against Vrangeli, Makhno, and white Poles.

The years of peaceful construction arrived. The establishment of the material base of the young Land of Soviets began on the Volga and in the country's other German autonomous regions.

The summer of 1941 canceled all plans for a long time. In only a few days in accordance with a special ukase by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which had as its aim the prevention of "acts of sabotage" in Volga regions, the ASSR of Germans in the Volga area was abolished in August 1941. The population was evicted—in part to Siberia and in part to Kazakhstan.

Were there grounds for an eviction at that time? The ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet issued in August 1964 answered this question unambiguously. Life showed that the accusations were unfounded and represented the manifestation of arbitrary rule under the conditions of Stalin's cult...

However, in 1941 23 long years remained before this conclusion. At that time all able-bodied individuals—under the age of 16—were drafted for labor camps. They shared the country's fate. They worked, sparing no effort. They anxiously awaited news from the front. They believed that the Red Army would soon defeat Fascists and then the government and Stalin would investigate [the matter] and rectify the mistake.

Some managed to get to the front by hook or by crook and to participate in combat operations. We know more than a dozen names of Germans—Heroes of the Soviet Union.

After the war Soviet Germans waited for the restoration of justice. But then there was a new ukase: Germans, Kalmyks, Ingushes, Chechens, Finns, Latvians, and other immigrants had no right to leave their regions of residence and their unauthorized departure from places of settlement was punished with hard labor for up to 20 years...

Only in 1955 were Germans, along with other special immigrants, struck off the register. "In our tiny steppe village there was a real holiday, when at the end of the 1950's German lads began to be called up for service in the Soviet Army," G. Belger, a well-known Kazakh writer and translator, recalls. "The people revived, you see, they revived!"

However, as before, they had no right to return to the small homeland. Most Germans settled in Kazakhstan and other republics in Central Asia. In the meantime the problem of the fate of 2 million people was being analyzed and debated at various levels. Then a new ukase appeared in 1964. Rehabilitation? In essence, however, the punishment remained. The thought about a home on the Volga did not give people peace.

The most desperate went to Moscow in search of the truth. They received the following answer: The matter is being studied. Time is needed.

Of course, time was needed. Only it passed differently in steppe villages and in imposing offices.

No matter how we keep silent about this, it became clear that an anxious situation gradually began to be created around Soviet Germans. Our enemies were not slow in taking advantage of it. Postal wrappers—food packages—suddenly began to flow into the Union in the middle and end of the 1960's. All this through the International Red Cross for those suffering in "special camps" (this is how the regions of residence of Soviet Germans were called in the West).

Yes, by that time Soviet Germans began to live much better. Those that remained in rural areas acquired livestock and high-quality homes.

Apparently, however, it was not only a matter of prosperity. There was a wave of affidavits from relatives in the FRG, demands, and petitions. Some got ready for the road.

At first this was disheartening: Why do people, who have put down deep roots here, try to leave the country so persistently? However, to seek answers to these questions was somehow not customary at that time. Lines appeared in front of visa and registration departments. A chain reaction began: The more people left, the more applications for departure were received at competent bodies.

B. Sh. Turabekov, senior official at the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, admits:

"Recently, in connection with the simplified procedure of going abroad for a permanent place of residence, the number of applications has increased. Mainly rural people leave."

What does await these people today?

"We lived in Friedland—a big camp for immigrants—for a week," Emma Gerdt continued her story. "People slept in the sports gymnasium, tents, corridors, and barracks. Then we were transferred to Balingen. Of course, the conditions were a little better there. However, is this really the chief thing? From the first days we felt morally humiliated. We were treated like destitute people who came for charity."

The lines became increasingly longer and officials, increasingly more arrogant.

To some people the testimonies of eye witnesses may seem insufficiently objective. Therefore, let us turn to foreign sources. For example, this is what the journal SPIEGEL writes about the problems of immigrants: "The native inhabitants of the FRG fairly often splash out distrust, hostility, and a lack of understanding on their fellow countrymen from Kazakhstan."

However, all Western Germans, both old and young, are united by the fear that the crowd of new "refugees" will take away work places, apartments, and social aid from them, complicate their life, and steal their well-being. The document prepared by the evangelical church states openly: "At present the immigrants of German nationality, along with foreign workers and political immigrants, are viewed by the population as a foreign body..."

"Among the immigrants there are very many rural residents," Nelli Kosko, director of the "German Wave" radio station from Cologne, adds, "but in our country there are no special differences between urban and rural areas. Therefore, adaptation is so painful."

In all this there is another paradox. The country, which has 2 million of its own unemployed people, invites citizens of other states for permanent residence, not only Soviet, but also from Romania, Poland, and other countries. By the end of this year Bonn authorities intend to accept only about 200,000 immigrants. In 7 months of this year 22,815 people, including more than 8,000 children, have left the USSR. What is this—pure charity?

The Bonn information bulletin "Inpres" explains the reasons for such an approach as follows: "During the next 30 to 40 years the FRG population will decline from 60 to 45 million. There are already 4.5 million foreigners in the country." The conclusion suggests itself: It is better to accept one's own former fellow countrymen than to invite foreign workers to the country. Is this not why Horst Waffenschmidt, parliamentary state secretary, spoke about immigrants as follows:

"Families with many children are tomorrow's taxpayers."

However, not only the demographic problem, which is becoming aggravated, disturbs Bonn politicians. Immigrants are new voters. In gratitude for the opportunity given them to move, they will give their votes.

"It is possible to find a job," Emma Gerdt continues. "There is a shortage of skilled jobs. But there is enough dirty and low-paid work. Hospital attendants, loaders, and cleaning women are needed everywhere. But my daughter finished school with a gold medal and an institute with honors. How was she to know that she could only have the job of a hospital attendant or a cleaning woman there?"

Tatyana Kirshteyn, a resident of West Berlin, confirms this point of view:

"It is impossible to compare your engineer or builder with ours. In the FRG today there is a different level of labor organization and different demands on specialists. Your engineer will either have to study all over again, or give up the hope of holding a managerial post."

Many overcome the language barrier and forget their former friends. They find jobs and housing. In general, they adapt. But are they happy? Do they become full-fledged citizens?

Where is the way out? Now, when glasnost and democracy become the norm of our life, Soviet Germans themselves try to find an answer to the question and search for a solution.

"Restructuring enabled us to express our point of view of this problem," Yakov Fisher, deputy director of the German Drama Theater, says. "We believe that it is never too late to restore justice. Therefore, we have established a coordinating center of Soviet Germans for assistance to the USSR Government in the restoration of the ASSR of Germans in the Volga area. The center includes representatives from all the country's regions where Soviet Germans live. We believe that the restoration of the autonomy will help to solve our problems. Then many of our fellow countrymen will return home."

However, this point of view is by no means the only one today. Many believe that there is no need for autonomy. Aleksey Rembez, a pensioner from Bugulma, says:

"Autonomy is not needed. What can it give today, when people have already put down roots at the new place of residence?"

Of course, most Soviet Germans, with whom we talked, do not think about leaving for abroad. Their problems should be solved in the homeland. "We must not go there!" Luiza Gintse, a pensioner who is a believer, says. "I forbade all my children and grandchildren to do this. How can we leave the homeland?"

The cultural needs of Soviet Germans have begun to be met better in the last few years. A cultural center and a newspaper have appeared in the capital of Kazakhstan. The German Drama Theater is being transferred there. The radio conducts a broadcast in the German language. Television is getting ready to begin work. A decree of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, which examined the problem of establishing a network of schools, where the German language would be taught as the native tongue, was adopted last year. The first groups, where children can communicate in their native tongue, have appeared in kindergartens.

These are important steps. Today, however, it is necessary to go further. Moreover, problems remain. Instruction in the native tongue is carried out poorly in schools. The material base for such lessons is almost completely absent. There are not enough associations based on interests and clubs based on general domestic and cultural traditions.

Unfortunately, the activity of the Germans themselves in the solution of these problems is still insufficient. Some are inclined to attribute this to a so-called "feeling of inadequacy" and a biased attitude toward them. Today, however, this is not so. The people have been given all the opportunities and rights so that they can see to it that their cultural legacy is preserved.

We have inherited complex problems from the past. However, not only statesmen need wisdom today. Everyone, including those that rush to submit an application for departure, needs it.

#### Issues of Discrimination Raised by Emigrating Soviet German

##### Discrimination Described by Emigrant

18000489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
4 Feb 89 p 3

[Letter to the editor by Andrey Shelenberg, Kirghiz SSR, Sokulukskiy Rayon, village of Novopavlovka: "Why I Am Leaving"]

[Text] I am writing to you for the first time although for many years now I have been a faithful reader of your newspaper. I am writing and I hope to be met with understanding.

Circumstances developed in such a way that during my service in the army from November 1986 to November 1988 two of my brothers and my sister and their families as well as friends and my girlfriend left for the FRG. After my discharge I made the decision to also leave the USSR.

Please believe me when I say that this was not an easy decision and that there were very serious reasons for it. The fact is that I will never become an equal member of our society. A great deal has already interfered with this

and may still interfere with it. For example, there is the fact that I am not a party member. In addition, I am a believer. I feel that God exists and is the creator and master of all that surrounds us. Naturally, my convictions differ from those of the komsomol. And although the goals and tasks that are put forth by genuine Christians and communists are similar in many respects because they are humanistic in nature, the approaches to life contrast to a large extent, which does not permit me to join the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League].

Upon graduation from high school my name was not even included on the list of candidates for the awarding of a medal. The only reason for this was that I was not a komsomol member, even though for the entire 10 years of my schooling my grades were outstanding.

When I was drafted into the army they wanted at first to send me to sergeant school, but at the last moment they changed their mind. Confusing the issue, evidently, was my nationality—German, and the fact that I had relatives abroad. I was told that if I became commander of a detachment I would be able to "spread a hostile ideology among soldiers." After some thought they decided to send me into a construction battalion. But evidently the military commanding officers became a little uncomfortable about sending "a seemingly intelligent fellow" there.

When I became a member of a PVO [Antiaircraft defense] unit, the people there were silently surprised about this "fellow"—how did he get here, they asked. Who was being pushed on us? I spoke to many officers in the military reception area but no one took me into his unit. Perhaps this was for the best? I served my entire 2 years in unit administration. I was not allowed near military equipment, I did not visit "sites", I was not privy in any way to any state or military secrets so that today I do not in any way pose a threat to the security of the country. Now, probably, I cannot be refused in my request to leave the country on the basis of the fact that I served among the PVO troops.

In conclusion I would like to ask that my departure not be viewed incorrectly—as a rejection of my homeland. The desire to leave does not at all mean that I am hostile in any way to our Soviet reality. With all my soul I support perestroika and those transformations which have begun in the country. I want to believe that the Soviet people will sweep away all that deforms society and will successfully implement that which has been planned. I will always maintain good feelings about the country in which I was born, raised and grew up and where the best years of my childhood and youth were spent. Best wishes.

With respect. [Signed] Andrey Shelenberg



### Sympathetic Response

18000489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
4 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Albert Plutnik: "Confession Before a Long Trip"]

[Text] Is any one of our country's citizens justified in asserting that he will never be an individual equal in all respects? Only criminals or the psychologically ill are officially considered "disenfranchised." Thus can it be that in addition to them the scope of possibilities is narrowed to such an extent for an individual that he loses his confidence in the future—in that which we are justifiably proud of as our greatest socialist achievement?

Recently thanks to glasnost we have learned about extreme, I would say, measures of self-protection by citizens against mismanagement, social injustice and the limitation of individual rights. There are cases of twenty-four hour surveillance by the community at sites that are of historical value and that have been earmarked for destruction due to the ignorance of local authorities, and of hunger strikes by doctors who despair of attracting attention in any other way to the terrible conditions in their polyclinics. Of course, while arousing our sympathy such actions cannot give rise to our approval. But to be honest those who resort to "extreme measures" are not seeking recognition and applause. The cry of despair is not calculated to impress someone with its melodiousness. One does not pose before the camera with a grimace of pain.

But does someone's decision to leave his country fall into this category? Is this action a protest? Is it an act of despair? After all, a person looks for the place where it is best—not for you and me, but for himself. As for a number of emigrants, well-known people, the opinion has already taken root that they were not traitors or abnormal, that they were simply driven "there." But they left then. Then and not now. And why should a so-called ordinary person leave his familiar spot? Why is it that he is not satisfied at home in his truly irreplaceable place—the homeland? "What is he seeking in the faraway land?" Riches? Fame?

While considering this, let us look more closely into what this individual writes. He feels that he must leave not for subjective features of his character, not because of the capricious turn of his own individual fate but for social and societal reasons which have suddenly made him feel like a person without a clear and desirable future. His desire was not for privileges or material goods but only for the opportunity to be no worse than everyone else, to always compete for his place in the sun on an equal footing with everyone else, to have his successes in school be rewarded, as those of others are, to have an objective evaluation of opportunities when sent on assignment in the army, and in the future when he is starting at a higher educational institution or a job, when

he is progressing in his career and so forth to not feel that it is as if those who are seeing him for the first time act as if they have always known him, as if stretching behind him is some kind of indelible fault for which he must be ready to answer at any moment.

Let us unhurriedly examine, point by point, what is typical for this fate and what is accidental. While doing this we will try to avoid the temptation to consider atypical everything that may throw a shadow on existing norms.

He is a believer. Could difficulties arise because of this? Here the church and not the believer is separate from the state. Freedom of religion is a law in our life that has been in effect for many decades now. Alas, it is only today that we have begun to speak more patiently and respectfully of different points of view regarding the church, clergy and believers. But even today in many respects believers are in an unequal situation. In your opinion, who will be given preference for a promotion on the job? "All else being equal" who will sooner be recommended to become a candidate for deputy? This is done despite the fact that no one has proven anything, as if faith in and of itself has a negative effect or even paralyzes organizational and other capabilities, as for example the capability to think appropriately or to devote oneself to a task selflessly. perestroika has begun to change some things in this direction. It is possible to put forward representatives of the clergy as candidates for the position of USSR people's deputies for public organizations. But have we achieved real equality between believers and atheists?

Is it possible for us to have a minister who is Russian Orthodox or Catholic? Moslem? It is. And why not? But it is not likely that we would know about it—about his religion. He would never admit it himself. And if he did admit it, would he remain minister? With all our freedom to practice religion. Not to mention the fact that if this biographical information were revealed early enough he would not likely have a chance at a high post. And strictly speaking, why? Why is it that here a believer does not have the right, it appears, to aspire to the respected position of zhek [housing operations bureau] director? Tradition. Stereotypes.

The writer is not a party member. Can there be any doubt that under certain circumstances again with "all else being equal" party members have the advantage over non-party members? As for example when the question of promotion to administrative positions arises. Membership in the party does not prove in and of itself that a person is more predisposed to management work, and as is written in all statutes and decisions, no advantage should be given to party members.

This situation developed during the historical period when the command-bureaucratic system was developing and becoming stronger, when loyalty was valued more than professionalism. But drawing candidates from a

circle which does not include the great majority of the population—is this an optimal solution to the cadres problem? In addition, non-party members were treated as if being outside the ranks of the party meant opposition to it. Only quite recently have we heard from the highest podiums about the depravity of this practice, about the necessity to more decisively also promote to responsible posts non-party members capable of modern thinking and acting. In other words, they also must be given the opportunity to compete equally with party members.

The word has been said but things are still moving slowly. Right now there is a lot of pretence about things being done. Name just one non-party union minister. Until recently there were no non-party ministers on the republic level either. Now there are. For example, we have the Latvian Minister of Culture composer Raymond Pauls and the senior editor of NOVYY MIR, Sergey Zalygin. So things are warming up...

What about relatives abroad? Who was forgiven this in the past? From the tradition of the "iron curtain" we have retained the fear of "ties abroad," of relatives abroad and of the line in the questionnaire "Do you have relatives abroad?" which cancelled equality for thousands upon thousands of people for their entire lives as compared to those who were able to draw a line next to this question. Meanwhile, it appears that the entire world has relatives elsewhere. The process of world internationalization and of the great mixing of people began long ago and continues; each person may have his own attitudes about this but no one has the right to deny it—it is a real fact of world history and in it is reflected, in my opinion, the objective striving of peoples to move closer together and not to isolate themselves.

Our perestroika has already said its weighty word on this topic as well. It has greatly simplified the procedure for visiting relatives living in various countries and for tourist exchanges, encouraging in every way possible and welcoming the craving of Soviet people to travel and to be more closely acquainted with the rest of the world and to have it better acquainted with us. The window to Europe was carved out long ago, but it is only now that we are beginning to really use it.

Finally, let us talk about that "famous point"—point five. Let us talk about the national question as reflected in the specific fate of a particular individual. Of course people here are all equal, but—equal to what? To each other? Within what limits—those of the entire country, or just of "their" nationality? We are forced to think about this as a result of the recent events in a number of republics, of the splash of national passions and the attempt to put representatives of so-called non-indigenous nationalities in their place. There are 55 million such people—people who do not live in "their" territory of origin. Moreover, this includes not only smaller

national groups. This also includes, for example, Russians living in the national republics. Their interests are also infringed upon, let us say, with "local" decisions regarding the problem of national cadres.

Who receives priority in being sent for training or retraining or is selected for an award in multi-national republics? Who is more likely to be appointed director of an enterprise—an excellent engineer, of let us say, the "Korean nationality" or a "native" who is inferior to him in training? More often than not the "home" person is preferred. In addition, recently a strengthening of this kind of approach has been demanded. But after all, the others are also not outsiders. After all, we do have general equality here, and this means not in some individual oblasts and rayons but everywhere. And what should Germans, of whom the letter's author is one, do? What part of the country should he live in so that when the problem of national cadres is dealt with his interests are not given second priority?

The existence of these types of problems sometimes has unexpected consequences. Quite recently in one of our republics I came across the following fact—patients refused to be treated by doctors of the indigenous nationality. They had learned through experience that these doctors' training was inferior.

There is no disagreement that we must tend to national cadres. But we do mean tend to, and not pretend that they have already been tended to when this has not yet happened. Sacrificing quality means forgetting about clients, consumers and patients. It is all the same to people who treats them as long as the treatment is good. They want people to sew good-quality dresses, to prepare tasty meals in cafeterias. Quality should be on if not an international level then certainly on an all-union level.

The reasoning will go thus for a given region, people will say, but once national cadres are put into play this means giving someone undeserved preference. Forgiving their lack of skill means seducing these cadres. Incidentally, we do often behave in this way. We have some writers who are better known for their nationality than for their writing. There are famous people who are known not for what they do (what they do is precisely what no one knows about) but for their membership in a particular nationality. It is as if these people do not have to achieve genuine competitiveness, as if they have already been justified and put on a pedestal as a result of their nationality...But behind this is a degrading attitude toward people, a lack of belief in them. Too high an attitude is also not equitable. It is as if we have unique "ROST [Expansion unknown] windows" for national achievement that long ago took on a petrified formal bureaucratic form. For some reason we very much like to enumerate that the workers of a brigade, a construction site or a single mine represent, let us say, 13 nationalities; however, the people never ask each other what nationality they are. They do not ask but nevertheless know precisely that there are exactly 13 nationalities within the brigade.

For too long we tried to cure inequality with one method—by not recognizing its existence. But it did exist. I remember that in a sound Moscow institution I met a worker with an amazing gift—he determined the future of individuals by their handwriting. A graduate of a higher educational institution had only to fill out a questionnaire and the worker would say, "No, you will not be successful in our enterprise." Of course, the matter lay not in the handwriting but in the questionnaire.

In freeing society from the layers of lies, perestroyka has elucidated a great deal here too. Suddenly it has become clear that in the 72nd year of Soviet power a phenomenon such as persecution because of nationality could exist. A special resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers appeared on 5 December 1988 and for the first time admitted that in Armenia and Azerbaijan mass work layoffs were due to this reason. It was said that economic and party directors often tolerated illegal acts, and even participated in them. For the first time in as long as I can remember a strict statement was made about the personal responsibility of such directors, up to excluding them from the party, removal from the posts they occupy, and in cases foreseen by law—criminal litigation. Perhaps nothing of the sort existed in the past? Perhaps this sort of thing is possible only in extreme situations? Why does a situation have to take a Nagorno-Karabakh turn before the organs in power step in with decisive declarations?

Personally I would not call any of the factors that have complicated the author's life exclusive or atypical. The coming together of so many factors in one life, their concentration, is more unique; it is for these reasons that the individual has lost faith in the possibility that he may become equal.

Equality—this is what is required most for everyone. We need equality without "all else being equal" because it is when these preliminary "equal conditions" are demanded that equality disappears. Nothing demeans more or wounds as dangerously as its absence. Inequality is the state in which everyone knows everything about you without knowing anything, when someone knows your answers before asking the question. Alas, in the confirmation of general equality in the light of glasnost we can detect excessive categoricity and an inadequate "grasp of life."

Sometimes without recognizing it ourselves we laid the foundation for inequality in traditions which we faithfully followed for long years. Advancement for government awards was one of these traditions. An acquaintance of mine, an excellent engineer from Ust-Kamenogorsk, found himself in a tragicomic situation three times. Three times the administration and the public organizations of the plant proposed this person to receive a medal. Three times he did not receive one. The first time what was required, as became clear, was a man of komsomol age and actively engaged in public life, and

the engineer did not reflect these "parameters." The second time the qualifications were Kazakh and not Ukrainian. The third time the engineer was rejected because the "order" was for a skilled worker.

Explain to me why we make everything more difficult. If a man does his job well then why does he absolutely have to be a komsomol member or a member of the particular nationality that someone has written into the requirements? Why not at least compete with a good public man for the reward on an equal footing?

Preference should be given to the most intelligent, the most skilful and to those capable of bringing the greatest advantage to the collective, to society and to the country. People who are close by usually do act this way. But what about society? Do we have to prove that society is interested above all in free competition among minds, skills and capabilities, with first place being given unswervingly to those who are truly most worthy?

I can imagine how indignant some readers will be at such a simplistic approach. Talk will begin about higher interests, about the country's security. They will say that we cannot trust just anyone or allow things to travel their own course... But we are not speaking about "just anyone,"—it is Soviet people just like you yourselves, people who are no less loyal to their homeland than you are... We do not have to magnify our own acumen or confuse watchfulness with suspicion. As for the country's security... It lies precisely in more boldly promoting truly intelligent, knowledgeable and talented people. If the opposite is done, the country will inevitably be in danger. No one can damage it more than slow-witted managers. How much more proof do we need before we come to believe this?

You will not find a single law that states that for job promotion atheists have priority over believers, that people of one nationality have preference over people of another. But in jurisprudence in some countries there are often practices in effect that conform not only to law but also to established practice, by precedence, so to speak, and which may not completely correspond to the letter of the law. Subjectivism of this type in cadres policy, as in any other, is never to the advantage of truth, just as any sort of fractionalism, exclusiveness, or infringement upon the rights of man never upholds truth.

Having tied our hands with numerous far-fetched limitations and conditions we are ourselves essentially creating inequality. You are knowledgeable, intelligent, talented and have initiative, they say,—that's one thing, but we still have to check what God you believe in... As a result it is unimaginably difficult for a person to earn that attitude toward himself, that place in life in which he is capable of showing himself best—not only for himself but for the benefit of all of us.



Who could be interested in maintaining such a situation? My answer is: functionaries, the bureaucratic administrative system. Its creators and more zealous adherents who themselves do not have true merit are personally interested in magnifying the role of formal merit, much of which they have thought up themselves. This system requires a sieve; moreover, it selects people not according to their capability but "according to parameters."

Blocking the path to administrative posts and rewards, and thus in general the path towards equality by means of all types preliminary conditions we thereby inevitably become formalists, we ourselves finally begin to foster a kind of caste system for those having unconditional advantages over many others. After all it is known in advance what parameters must be met in order to draw favorable attention to yourself. Is it any accident that the "specialist" moving from the benches of the higher educational institution along the public line usually turns out to be more successful in his career than a fellow member of the institution who from his youth has dreamt only about professional growth? They are not competing on an equal footing...

No, I will not assert that an atheist will always be given priority over a believer, a communist—over a non-party member, a representative of the indigenous population—over someone who has moved in, one's own person—over a man from the street and so on. But quite truthfully I cannot console the author of the letter by saying to him that he has his own reserved path. There are many specialties with professional growth in which a career is possible. One can grow as an artist, as a sculptor, as a mathematician. Talent will always make a path for itself. In the final analysis no one would have been able to "suppress" Pushkin... I cannot say to the author, "Everything depends on you, pull yourself together and grow up. If you are not able to succeed, to conquer—it is your own fault." A great deal does depend on the individual. But consolation of this type is of extremely doubtful quality. The fact is that for self-actualization it is necessary to have that will and that self-confidence in yourself that are easily lost once you sense that you are not trusted. And a person's self-image is to a large extent the result of the social attitude toward him. The knowledge that you cannot get ahead and that it will not be possible to eliminate the barriers that are not put up for everyone by far changes your entire way of thinking and way of life. The awareness of inequality stuns a person before he openly runs into it. Carrying this knowledge with him, the individual essentially becomes a different person, one who is not capable by far of living and operating according to the full measure of his strengths.

We are children of a difficult history. Even during those years when the country was firmly on its feet it continued the policy of the time of the embittered struggle with enemies, alien elements, hidden counter-revolutionaries. Someone was always being persecuted here and being declared outside the law. First it was the representatives

of the old nobility, the bourgeois intelligentsia, the clergy and the prosperous peasants and then the fractionalists, cosmopolites and the differently-minded. As if this was an essential part of social development. Or did power seem stronger to itself when it beat "guilty parties" into the ground? This is what was thought although genuine strength lies in exactly the opposite—in mercy.

Thus or otherwise, the proclaimed equality did not exist. The violation of constitutional norms that promised equality among citizens became a type of inviolable law. This threw a shadow on the USSR Constitution, transforming it in the eyes of thousands of people into a collection of formal regulations that the party leadership and government were not obligated to adhere to. It is only now that public consciousness and the attitude toward the Constitution are changing, which is attested to by the recent political struggle surrounding proposed changes, surrounding certain articles related to a new election system.

If you think about the reader's letter you can imagine more clearly what perestroika has inherited in the form of public ailments that have progressed from year to year. In contrast to the previous epoch, perestroika has not recoiled from public development tasks that have been in need of a solution for a long time and has laid them bare fearlessly before the entire country. It revealed them and did not create them, as some people today think.

The problems that have come to light are so deep and all-encompassing that hastening restructuring by solving them means pushing for a formal approach, for a type of ideological codicil. We must understand that it is impossible to bring order in a week, in a month and even in a year in a place where chaos reigned before.

"...I shall never be equal," writes the letter's author. Taking account of the new tendencies in our development I would advise the author to eliminate the fatalistic note of the word "never" from his prognosis.

#### **Chief Discusses Work of New Inter-Nationality Relations Commission**

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[Interview with Maj Gen A. Ivanov by Col V. Gavrilenko, correspondent: "To Become a School of Internationalism"]

[Excerpts] *Commissions on inter-nationality relations have been created in the Armed Forces. The commission in the Moscow Air Defense District is headed by Maj Gen A. Ivanov, first deputy chief of the district political directorate. Our correspondent talks with him.*

"First of all," stated Aleksandr Sergeyevich, "these commissions are called upon to make a contribution to solving the tasks formulated at the 19th All-Union Party

Conference, which derived from the requirement: 'Service in the ranks of the USSR armed forces must become a true school of internationalism.' Second, their appearance is stipulated by recent complex, at times tragic events in inter-nationality relations. Even in the difficult hour of testing on Armenian soil, when all of the country's peoples are displaying courage and true internationalism in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, politicians are not ceasing extremism. Nationalistic elements are inflaming inter-nationality discord, and playing on people's emotions. They are succeeding in confusing some young people. At a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized: '...Life goes forward, new generations enter it, who are not born internationalists...' Understandably, these young people also come to our units and subunits.

"It is enough to say that today soldiers from more than 50 nationalities are serving in the district. And there is no need to hide the fact that at times the relations among them are not simple. Therefore, in speaking about the state of relations among nationalities and international indoctrination in district units and subunits, we should acknowledge honestly that here there are still numerous unsolved problems. Many of us commanders and political workers until recently underestimated the role of the national factor in the lives of military collectives. Even today, in my view, there is still not sufficient democratism or deep understanding by each commander and political worker of the need to take people's national interests and particularities into account, in the process of international indoctrination." [passage omitted]

[Gavrilenko] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, I cannot forget the well known incident in the district that took place between military construction workers, privates I. Godzhayev and I. Ibragimov. Ibragimov raised his hand to his comrade...

[Ivanov] Yes, a tragedy occurred. Godzhayev died from his wounds. Tracing this entire grievous history from beginning to end, one sees the omissions, incomplete work, and out and out negligence of the commanders and political workers. The military construction detachment, which is led by Lt Col V. Tsvetkov, is multinational. But we could not find any traces of international indoctrination in it. This work was completely allowed to take its own course here.

Pvt I. Godzhayev, a military construction worker, was known for his lack of discipline, and was crude and brash in his relations with his coworkers. Godzhayev began to fail to go to work and to behave defiantly in the new collective where he was sent for "reindoctrination." In the fog of such bullying, he insulted the national sensitivities of Pvt I. Ibragimov. The latter bore a grudge. And he decided to pay back his offender himself. What can one say? The commanders and political workers, and the party and komsomol aktiv, overlooked the formation of a dramatic situation.

[Gavrilenko] Not so long ago, Aleksandr Sergeyevich, an inspection team from the USSR Ministry of Defense was working in the district. How did it assess the state of international indoctrination in the units and subunits? What shortcomings were revealed? What has already been done to eliminate them?

[Ivanov] Along with positive aspects in indoctrination work, the inspectors also noted a number of existing shortcomings. One of them is that not enough attention is being paid to indoctrinating the soldiers in the spirit of mutual respect and military comradeship. Examples of ignorant behavior among soldiers from different nationalities are also encountered. Not only soldiers, but even some officers have a superficial impression about the history and national particularities of the union republics. The sergeants, and the party, komsomol and especially the ideological aktiv, are selected without taking into account the multinationality of the military collectives. The topic of internationalism is poorly presented in propaganda work. This was felt particularly keenly at a recent "round table" of propagandists, devoted to international indoctrination and inter-nationality relations. It was learned that a considerable number of the propagandists were still in the prison of past stereotypes concerning lack of conflict in inter-nationality relations, and a rigid approach to their interpretation. Once I heard one of our regimental propagandists. He spoke to the auditorium about international unity in the unit. But his talk had a stagnant air about it. His turn of phrase, terminology, and the primitive nature of his examples convinced me that this ideological worker boiled down the problem of international unity to one of inter-nationality uniformity. In general, this has been our common failure in recent years—reducing problems to a one-sided understanding, and forgetting the Leninist view that the international grows on the foundation of the development of the national. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilenko] All the same, what specific steps did the district military soviet outline to improve international indoctrination?

[Ivanov] Our task is to teach officers to penetrate deeply into the essence and dynamics of the processes taking place in multinational collectives, and ably control them. This is not a simple matter. Therefore, it was decided that members of the military soviet, and officers from the staff and political directorate, are to visit the units and render specific, businesslike assistance in reinterpreting the problems, forms and methods of international indoctrination. A brochure published by the political directorate became a good help in the work of the commander and political workers. It contains methodological recommendations on the use of national particularities, ways and customs of the soldiers called up from the different republics in the practice of political indoctrination work with the personnel.

The military district newspaper, NA BOYEVOM POSTU, is making its contribution to the international

indoctrination of the soldiers. I would also like to note the fact that this year subscriptions to newspapers and journals of the union republics increased.

A program has been developed and is being put into practice for implementing the decisions of the 19th Party Conference, where, in particular, a mechanism for ensuring the principle of social justice with respect to soldiers of different nationalities, and an equal and equitable attitude toward each has been defined. A few days ago we held a session of the district commission on inter-nationality relations, and each of its members received a definite sector of work. It was decided to pay particular attention to the younger generation. It is necessary to study effectively the frames of mind of the young soldiers, and the degree of influence on them of those alarming events that they undoubtedly witnessed. It is not unimportant to determine their enthusiasm for service, and understanding of their place and role in the multinational army collective, and their rights and duties in their relationship with their comrades. The alarming, and at times tragic events of recent months, weeks and even days require from us serious thinking and specific and responsible actions. And their essence is, most importantly, to bring to the young soldier, no matter from where he and we have come, the truth about what has taken place, to expand the information he has, and to help him to understand who is sowing the seeds of enmity between fraternal peoples and why, and who is engaged in political manipulations of extremist minded nationalists.

[Gavrilenko] Once an officer told me about a soldier who had never taken a mop in his hands during his entire service. National custom supposedly did not permit him to do so. [passage omitted]

[Ivanov] It seems as though you and I have talked to the same person. I also know about this case. But, he was not entirely frank in his conversation with you. This is convenient—to write off his own shortcomings to the particularities of national character. But this was not the case at all. I know representatives of this nationality. They are honest, hard working and hospitable people with a unique code of masculine honor. But, when they are in a male collective they are able to displace and replace certain concepts. It is simply necessary to look deeply into these subtleties. But what did the officer do? Having learned from the first sergeant about his refusal to work, through the first sergeant he "delivered up" the soldier, "lock, stock and barrel." This was repeated several times. In the end the commander gave up on the stubborn fellow as a lost cause, and the latter continued to serve conscientiously in other areas and capacities. What is there to say? It is a "ticklish situation." A soldier's summary on this account is utterly clear: Why is it that we can "scrub" the toilet, and our coworker doesn't? So dissension arose in the collective. And this need not have happened, had the officer gotten a bit more deeply involved in the situation, and personally and intelligently broken down the position, which was based on youthful maximalism and a falsely understood

male sense of worth. And it is absolutely necessary in such cases to rely on the coworkers, and to form in the platoon, in the company, a "collective indoctrinator."

[Gavrilenko] It is clear that this officer adheres to outmoded views on international indoctrination. What new has appeared in this area recently?

[Ivanov] For example, the district commission on inter-nationality relations will now have its counterparts. inter-nationality relations groups have been created in all garrisons and separate units, to which the best first-term soldiers of different nationalities have been democratically elected. Their main task is to strengthen friendship and comradeship, and to analyze and prevent nationality motivated conflicts. The groups' functions also include analysis of international relations in the unit or garrison, taking into account national particularities of the soldiers, working out recommendations on patriotic and international indoctrination, organizing union republic 10-day commemorations, and participating in the creation of libraries in the languages of the USSR peoples, methodological centers for teaching the culture of international communication, etc.

[Gavrilenko] As I understood it these groups are just developing their work. And it is a real fact that in a number of units there exist so-called "national associations" of soldiers.

[Ivanov] It is entirely true that these "national associations" exist; this cannot be avoided. Life is life. But, speaking quite frankly, it is necessary to acknowledge that they even began to arrive when soldiers in one unit or another began to sense inattention, and even indifference, toward their national affiliation. "National associations" arose as an answer to the poverty and inertness of the forms of our attention to the life of the collective. In some places, frankly speaking, the situations got out of the control of the commanders, political workers, and party and komsomol organizations, and the "national associations" were isolated and withdrawn. I believe that here the inter-nationality relations groups that are being created will play a positive role.

[Gavrilenko] Is there a connection between non-regulation and inter-nationality relationships?

[Ivanov] I think that we ourselves sometimes introduce confusion into these concepts. We must learn to analyze the situation at all levels of consciousness—social and everyday—and think about the consequences of every word, every gesture, and every decision.

Let us say that two soldiers quarreled in the mess hall; one took the seat of the other. No doubt such situations cannot be avoided in the diverse army life. What is this, an inter-nationality conflict? Some of the officers classify it as such, and moreover, do so publicly. There is much greater harm than good from such "principles and decisiveness." But, we must also not close our eyes to the fact that at times conflicts arise that subsequently arouse



many and unite the opposing sides along national lines. Wise indoctrinary work also must play here an active preventive role.

[Gavrilenko] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, is national affiliation taken into account in manning units with commanders and political personnel, or in elected party and komsomol organs?

[Ivanov] It must be noted that among the officers there are still rather few from the union republics in the Baltic, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. If there were more of them our palate of indoctrinating influence on the soldiers would be richer. It is necessary to solve this problem.

As for elected komsomol organs, I must admit that sufficient attention is still not being paid to the selection of the komsomol aktiv by national affiliation. There is not quite enough democratism, fairness and glasnost here. This is due not only to inattention toward selection of the aktiv, but also to the fact that many who arrive from Central Asia, the Baltic and the Transcaucasus have a poor knowledge of Russian. But, nevertheless, we strove to correct the situation concerning representation in the elective organs during the komsomol election campaign. In short, everywhere there are vital and dynamic processes, that do not stand for routine thinking and passive actions. All of us must restructure in this spirit.

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